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EXCAVATIONS AT EAST GILLING LONG BARROW

By P. R. Wilson

East Gilling Long Barrow, North Yorkshire, (SE 60187417) (Fig. 1 a and b) lies 1.5 km east of Yearsley village at 169m O.D. on the south-western slope of Black Hill just below the summit. The barrow, which is on an area of Great and Inferior Oolite bedrock,¹ is also known as Yearsley,² or Black Hill Long Barrow,³ and is a Scheduled Ancient Monument.⁴ The mound is orientated south-east to north-west⁵ and is c42m long and c26m wide at its south-eastern end. In plan it appears 'pear-shaped' and narrows to c15m at its north-western end. Side ditches are not visible on the surface, nor were they revealed in the contour survey of the site that was undertaken at the same time as the work described below (Fig. 1b). At the south-eastern end the mound survives to a height of c2.50m.

The site 'was examined very thoroughly' by William Greenwell in 1867; disturbances that presumably represent his trenches can still be seen on the surviving monument. Greenwell did not find a primary burial⁶ although he did locate a secondary Bronze Age burial in a stone cist close to the southern end of the mound.⁷

The creation of a 'schooling ring' cut into the south-western slope of Black Hill, as part of the expansion programme of Dale Plantation Stud, removed large areas as close as 8m to the south-eastern end of the mound. The threat⁸ posed by further works in the area between the 'schooling ring' and the eastern edge of the scheduled area required the prior investigation of two limited areas by the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission's Central Excavation Unit. These areas lay to the south and south-west of the upstanding monument, site sub-divisions 1 and 2 respectively (Fig. 1b).

Site sub-division 2 was devoid of archaeological features, indicating that if a ditch existed on the south-western side of the mound it must have terminated to the north-east of the threatened area. Site sub-division 1 contained a number of small features, the majority of which were cut directly into the subsoil (Fig. 2). Of the five possible small pits or post-holes in the southern half of the trench, at least two (features 17 and 21) and perhaps a third (feature 15), were of doubtful origins, all contained evidence of root penetration and may represent natural occurrences. At the northern end of the trench, pit 4 may have been cut directly into the subsoil, although it had an uncertain relationship with the filling of a shallow depression that ran across the trench on an approximately north-south line (feature 8). Pit 4 also had an uncertain relationship with a small pit or post-hole (feature 12) which was undoubtedly cut into the fill of feature 8 and consequently it is possible that pit 4 was cut into feature 8 as well. The northern third of the trench was sealed by a layer of dark brown loam which may have been part of a ploughsoil (layer 2). There was some suggestion

1. North Yorkshire County Sites and Monument Record number 00346.00000
2. ibid (Yearsley Moor in Manby, T.G., 'Long Barrows of Northern England; Structural and Dating Evidence', *Scottish Archaeological Forum* 2 (1970), pp. 1-27).
3. Kinnes, I.A., and Longworth, I.H., *Catalogue of the excavated Prehistoric and Romano-British material in the Greenwell Collection* (1985), no. 233; p. 110.
4. County Scheduled Monument Number 430. Ancient Monuments File Number AA11191/2.
5. Greenwell thought the mound to be aligned 'nearly due north and south', Greenwell, W., *British Barrows* (1877), no. CCXXXIII; p. 551.
6. It should be noted that Ashbee has suggested 'funerary use may not have been a primary function' of all Neolithic long barrows. *The Earthen Long Barrow in Britain* 2nd edn. (1984), p. xxiii.
7. Greenwell, op. cit. pp. 550-3.
8. Threat identified by the Field Monument Warden responsible for the area, Mr. A.L. Pacitto.

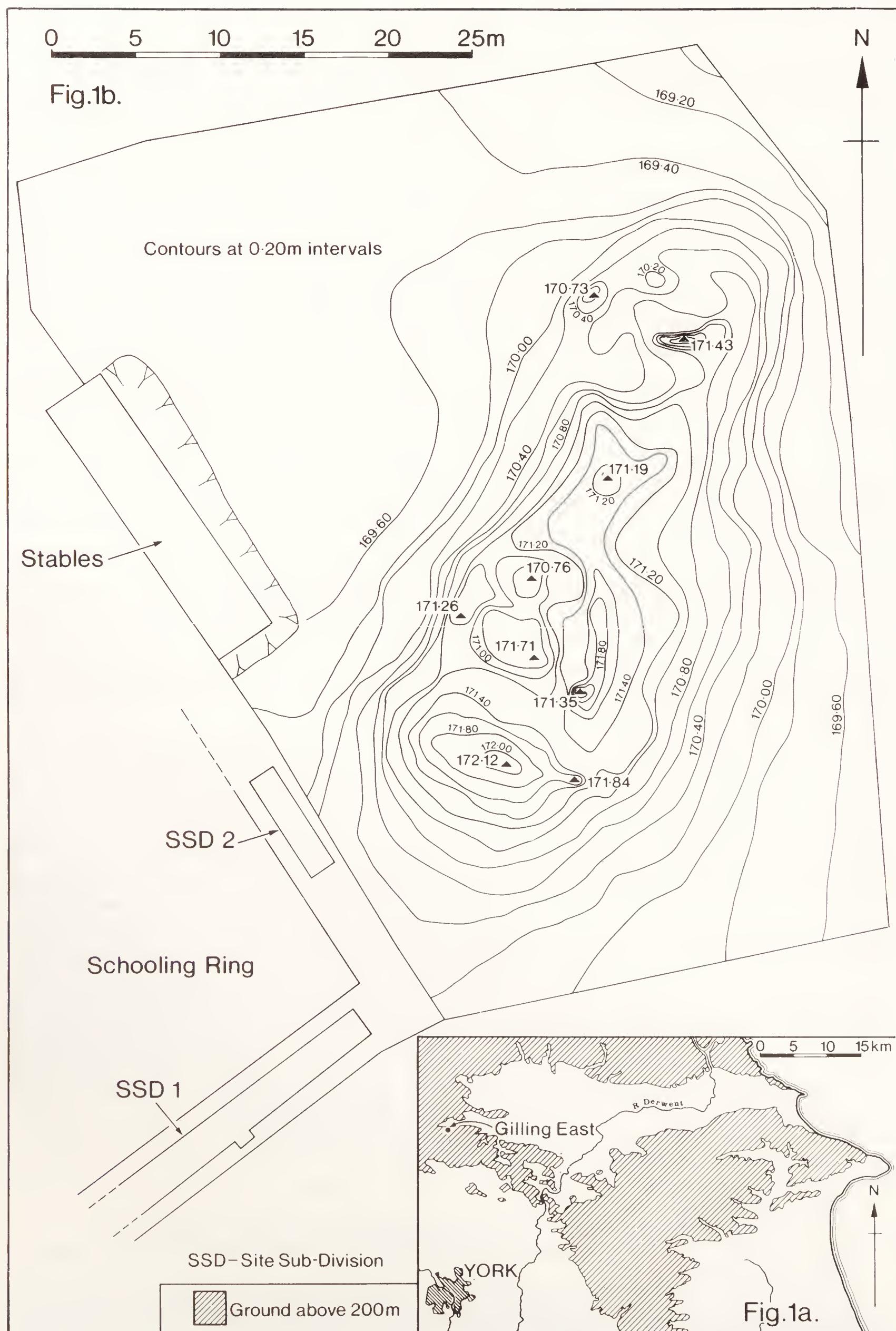


Fig. 1a - Location Map. Fig. 1b - General site plan incorporating the contour survey of the mound.

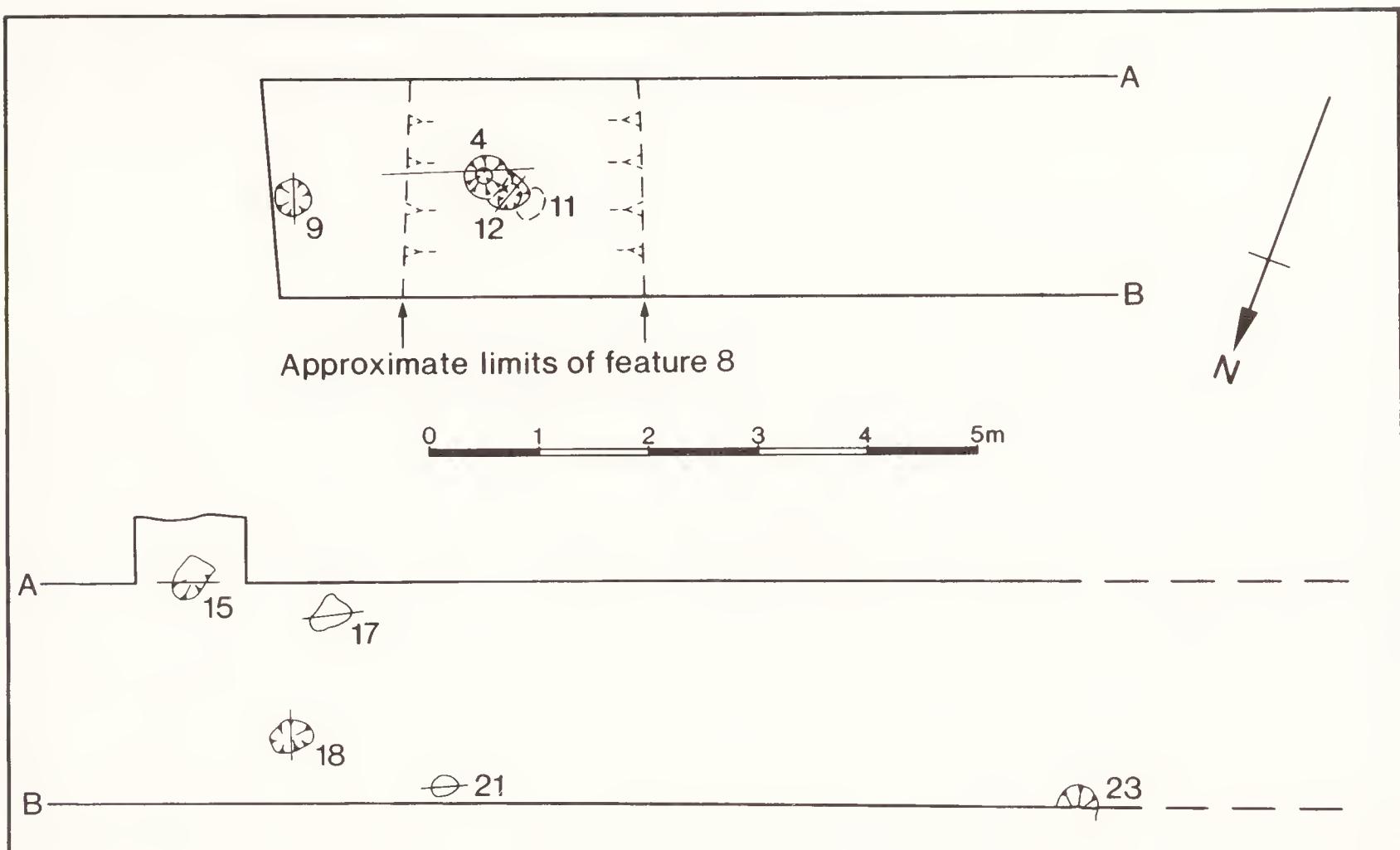


Fig. 2 - Site sub-division 1 excavation plan.

of an undulation in the surface of the subsoil which might indicate that layer 2 represented part of a system of ridge and furrow. If this were the case it is possible that feature 8 may have represented the remains of a furrow and therefore feature 12, at least, could not be associated with the mound. Vestiges of a much disturbed system of ridge and furrow appear to survive in the field immediately to the east of site sub-division 1. The northern-most feature recorded in the site sub-division 1 (pit 9) appeared to be the remnant of a deeper pit, as stones within its fill protruded above the surface of the surrounding subsoil. A sample of carbon taken from pit 4 was too mixed with modern root material etc. to submit for Carbon 14 dating and neither of the site sub-divisions produced any finds; therefore none of the features recorded can be associated with any of the known phases of activity on the site.⁹

9. The archive from the site will be deposited in the Yorkshire Museum.

EXCAVATIONS AT BURTON AGNES OLD MANOR HOUSE

By P.R. Wilson

Burton Agnes Old Manor House, North Humberside, (TA 103633) (Fig. 1),¹ which is in the care of the Historic Building and Monuments Commission for England (HBMC(E)), originated as a Norman first-floor hall, above a vaulted undercroft. The exterior displays much evidence of the extensive rebuilding/refacing that was undertaken (probably) in the early eighteenth century, notably on the southern and eastern sides which were visible from the 'New Hall' and its approaches. This latter fact might be taken to suggest that the alterations were undertaken for aesthetic reasons, rather than out of structural necessity, with a view to making the Old Manor House appear more in keeping with the neighbouring seventeenth-century mansion. This view finds support in the fact that most of the eighteenth-century work appears to take the form of the 'casing' in brick of parts of the Norman masonry. Margaret Wood suggests that this work may date to 1712 on the basis of a graffito (reading - ST 1712) cut into the Norman masonry on the first floor.² Few twelfth-century features survive at first-floor level, although a first-floor doorway can be identified in the north wall. A spiral staircase in the north-western corner of the building is another original feature. The interior of the vaulted undercroft survives largely unaltered. In the post-medieval period an extension (now ruinous) was built at right-angles to the Norman Hall on its north-eastern side (Fig. 2).

In response to a serious problem of rising-damp the Commission's architects proposed the insertion of 'air-drains' along the interior and exterior faces of the walls and around the bases of the piers in the undercroft. It was clear that this solution would cause considerable damage to any surviving stratigraphy, with the structure being isolated from the surrounding area and c 20% of any deposits within the undercroft being removed. In order to establish the level of damage that would result from the proposed works HBMC(E)'s Central Excavation Unit undertook a trial excavation in March 1984. In the event the excavation suggested that there would be significant damage and the proposal for 'air-drains' was abandoned in consequence.

THE EXCAVATION (Fig. 2).

Five, nominally 1m square, trial holes were excavated, three outside the building, against the south-west, north-east and north-west walls of the structure (site sub-divisions 1, 2 and 3 respectively) and two within the undercroft, against the south-east and north-west walls (site sub-divisions 4 and 5).

Site sub-division 1 (Fig. 3, Section 1).

The section suggests that the chalk-rubble foundations (feature 3) occupied the whole of the foundation trench cut for them (feature 12), but the work inside the building suggested that there may have been a narrow band of backfill in the internal side of the trench (see site sub-divisions 4 and 5 - below). The foundation trench was cut through layers 15, 26, 27 and 29, a series of what were probably pre-building garden-soils, being basically loams,

1. County monument number 631..

2. M Wood, 1956, *Burton Agnes Old Manor House*, Ministry of Works: Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings Official Guide. (London) H. M.S.O., p.9.

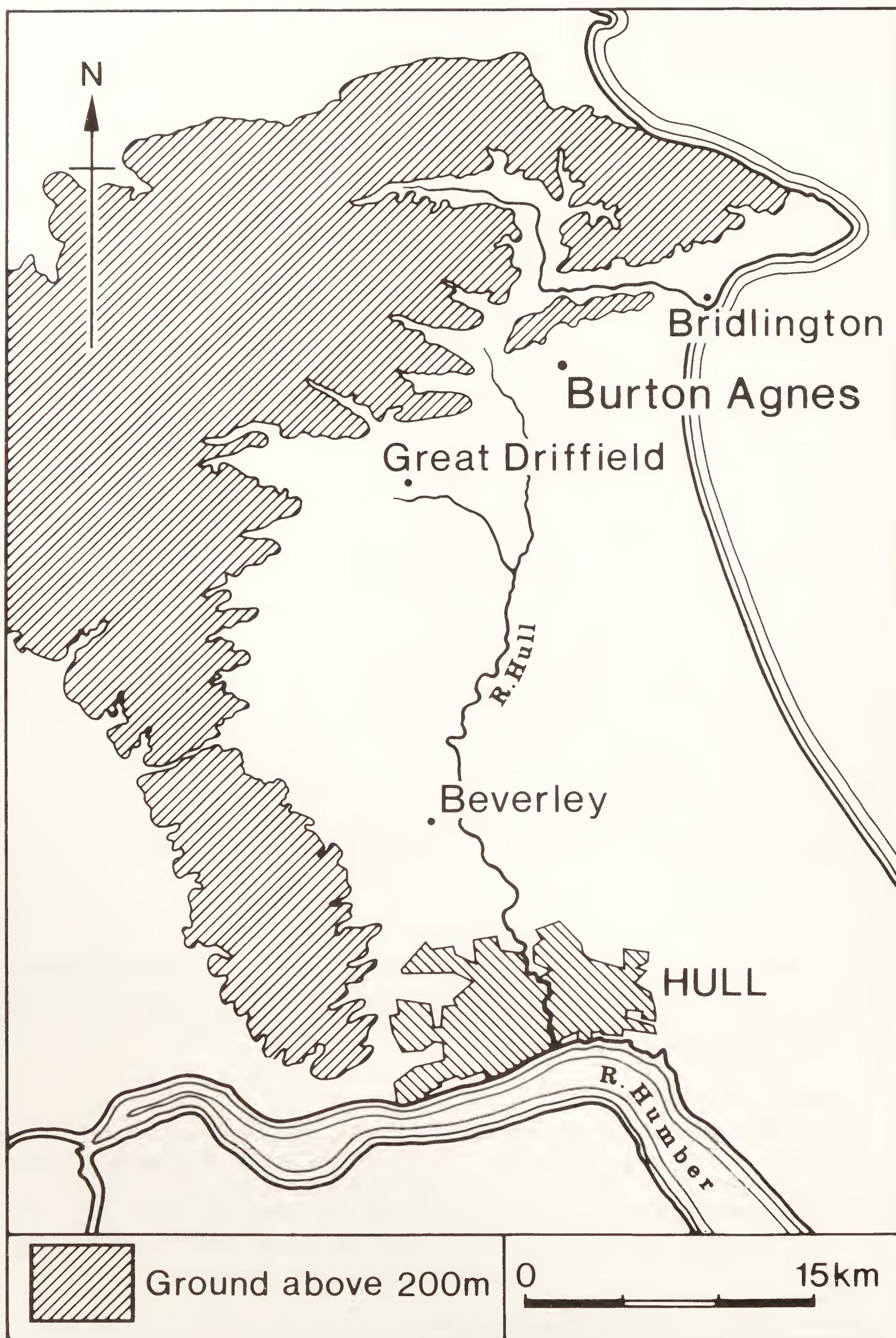


Fig. 1. Location Map.

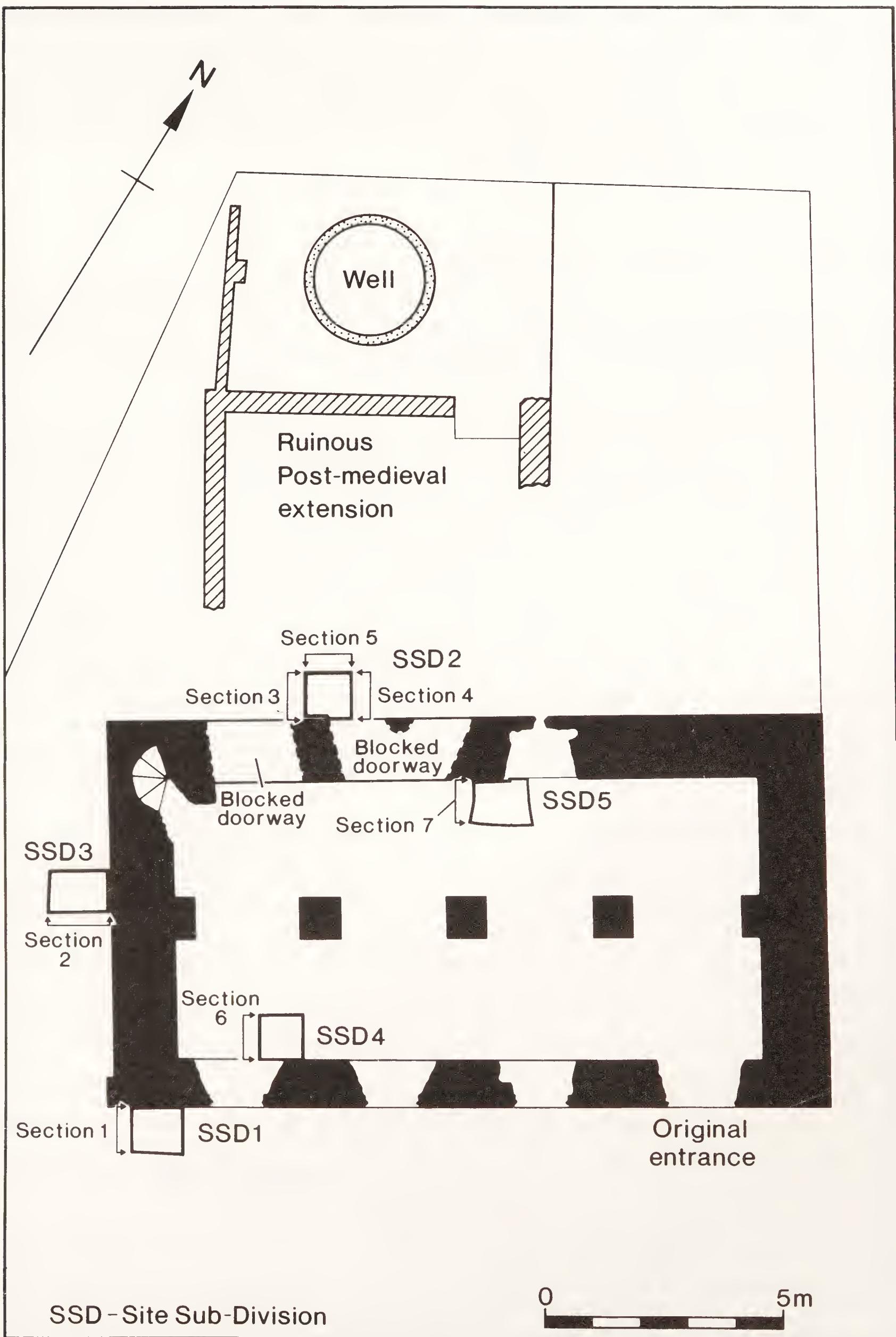


Fig. 2. Site plan.

although layer 26 did have a significant clay content. Above layer 15 and butting the footings (feature 54) over part of the area there was a spread of chalk fragments (layer 14) that probably represented a construction layer associated with the post-medieval refacing of the wall. Layer 14 was sealed by mixed building debris and soil (layer 5), that also may have derived in part from the refacing of the wall. Layer 5 was sealed by layers forming the modern surface surrounding the building.

Site sub-division 2 (Fig. 3, Sections 3, 4 and 5).

This area lay within the area of the ruinous post-medieval range to the north of the main structure, against the north-western wall of the undercroft adjacent to a section of Norman masonry that survived between the two blocked, post-medieval doorways that had been inserted into the wall.

The sequence revealed a complex and intensive use of the area, with many of the features relating to the blocked doorway (feature 10) between the Norman and later structures. A layer of sandy clay (layer 25) appeared to be the earliest context within the area, being cut by the chalk rubble foundations (feature 21) of the Norman north-western wall (feature 11). The foundations were separated from the ashlar of the wall by a footing of fairly regular limestone and sandstone blocks (feature 18), two of which were exposed in the area of the trench, the easternmost of them being badly damaged by the insertion of the doorway 10. The ashlar of the Norman wall was butted by a chalk and limestone rubble foundation (feature 17) lying partially within the area of the trench on its western side. Although it is possible that the material forming the foundation was reused, given the absence of brick and tile within the foundation it would seem probable that it related to the medieval rather than post-medieval structure. If this were the case, it is probable that it was part of a stair, or unbounded forebuilding, serving the first-floor door located near the north-western corner of the building and as such represented an original element of the Norman structure. This stair, or forebuilding, would have risen under the area occupied by the chimney.

Foundation 17 was severely truncated by a number of post-medieval features, the earliest of which was a cut recorded on the eastern side of the trench, (feature 20). The southern two-thirds of the bottom of this feature was occupied by a course of unmortared hand-made bricks (layer 22), which either formed the bottom of a flight of steps leading from the doorway into the post-medieval structure, or were part of a surface that extended eastwards along the outer face of the Norman wall. This brickwork was sealed by three courses of mortared hand-made bricks, with some ‘brick-sized’ pieces of chalk and limestone (feature 19). In the north-eastern section of the area feature 19 was removed to expose a layer of mixed soil (layer 24) that had apparently accumulated against it. The function of 19 was not clear. However, the existence of a second wall (feature 16) cut into foundation 17 on the western side of the area suggests that both walls may have served to define and support a flight of steps leading up from the Norman undercroft, through doorway 10 into the ruinous post-medieval range. Within the area of the trench these steps were represented by foundation 9, which, in section still showed the profile of, c0.15m high, risers (Fig. 3, Section 4), despite the treads having been removed.

The area above ‘steps’ 9, was occupied by a mixed layer of silt loam (layer 8) introduced after the treads of the steps were removed and doorway 10 blocked using machine-made bricks. It would seem likely that the original dimensions of the doorway were c1.87m high and c1.25, wide, although there is considerable evidence for damage prior to the blocking being inserted and allowance ought to be made for a sill or step in the doorway that would reduce its height.

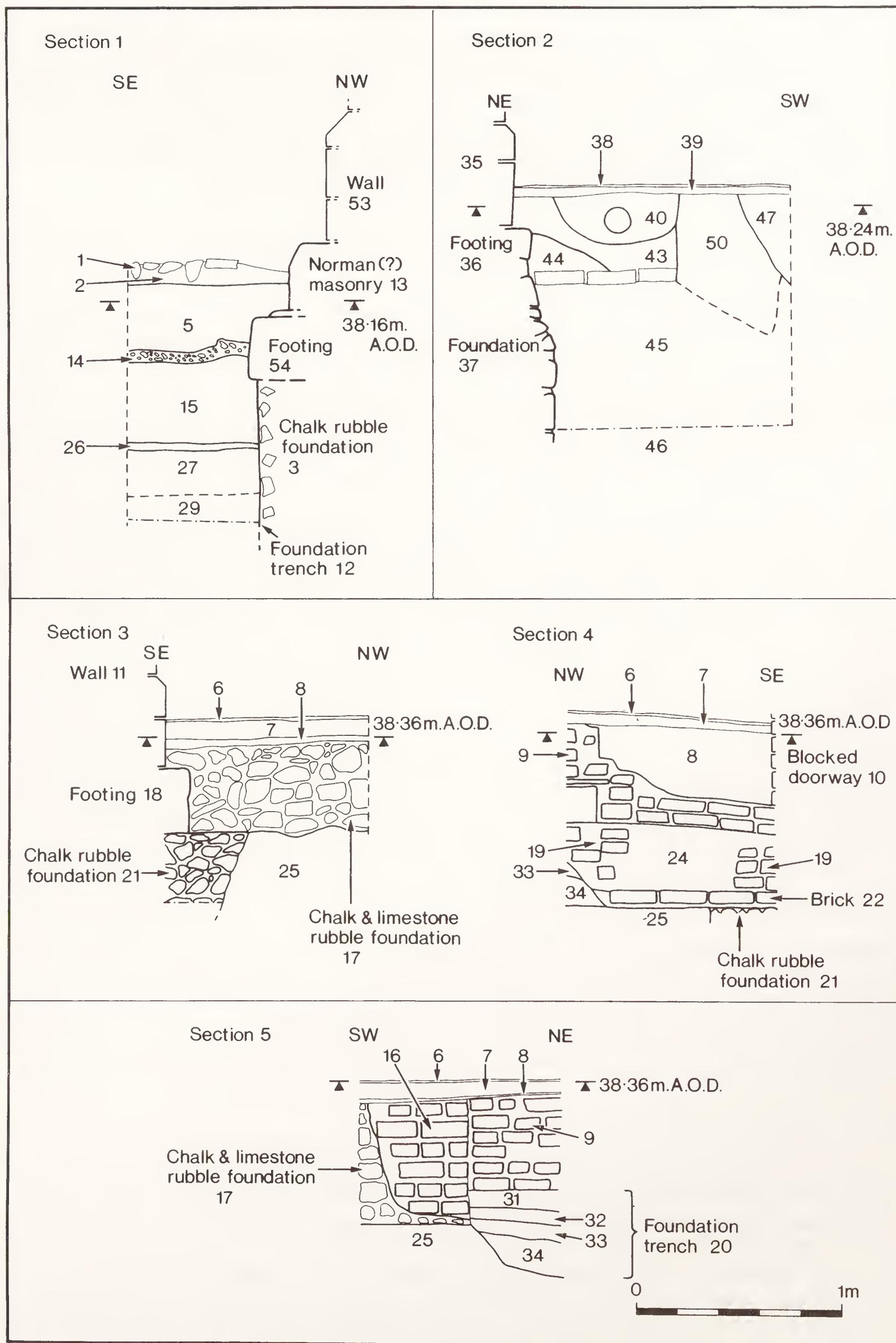


Fig. 3. Section 1 (SSD 1), Section 2 (SSD 3), Sections 3-5 (SSD 2)

Site sub-division 3 (Fig. 3, Section 2).

This trench, which was 1.30 by 1.00m in area, was located against the south-western wall of the Norman hall, immediately below a series of shallow sockets in the masonry which either represented putlog holes or supports for elements of a timber stair serving the blocked first-floor doorway that occupied a central position in the gable wall. Wood dates the insertion of this doorway to the seventeenth century, seeing it as a replacement for a two-light traceried window, evidence for which survives internally.³

Norman masonry survives in most of the south-western gable wall and the trench revealed a certain amount of information about the structure of the foundations. The Norman foundations (feature 37) were shown to be over 0.80m deep and to consist of courses of irregular chalk rubble alternately bonded with clay and sandy mortar. The section serves to show that the foundations widen as they get deeper, by 0.10m in the area of the trench. As was seen in site sub-divisions 1 and 2, the foundations supported a footing (feature 36) consisting of a single course of roughly squared limestone blocks. This footing in turn supported a 0.50m high plinth with a chamfered top (feature 35) which extended 0.05m beyond the general line of the Norman wall. The trench was excavated to a depth of 1.20m, the limit of excavation being formed by a layer of clay (layer 46). This material was sealed by another clay context, layer 45, that occupied the bulk of the depth of the trench. There was no evidence of a foundation trench for footings 37 having been cut through either layer 45 or layer 46. This would suggest that either the foundation trench was very wide and its edge lay outside the trench, or that the foundation occupied the whole of the trench cut for it. The latter suggestion would seem more probable. Should layers 45 and 46 pre-date the Norman building the presence of a sherd of what may be ninth/tenth century pottery in layer 45, may indicate activity in the pre-building period.

On the northern side of the area layer 45 was sealed by layer 52, a layer of clay that produced a sherd of unglazed fourteenth/fifteenth century pottery, as well as a slightly earlier body sherd (layer 52 does not appear in Section 2). On the southern side of the trench layers 45 and 52 appeared to be cut by a possible pit or post-hole, evidenced by a vaguely defined cut with a sloping bottom, feature 50. Feature 50 was cut by feature 47, a steep-sided, flat-bottomed linear feature on the western side of the trench that was also cut into layer 52. The majority of this feature lay outside the excavated area and other than it being 0.45m deep, there was no real indication of its true dimensions or purpose. There was a noticeable concentration of chalk rubble and some hand-made brick along its bottom, with smaller chalk fragments lying against the c60 degree edge. On the eastern side of the trench, close to the building, layer 52 and 'feature' 50 were cut by another feature containing two or three phases of drain serving to carry rain-water away from the building. The earliest version of the drain took the form of a layer of hand-made bricks overlain by some very mixed material, layer 44. This early drain was apparently replaced by a layer of mortar overlying chert slabs and machine-made brick, layer 43. It was not clear if layer 43 had formed a drain itself, or whether it was basically an infilling of the earlier drain as a precursor to the laying of the extant ceramic drain in trench 40 above layer 43.

Site sub-divisions 4 and 5 (Fig. 4, Sections 6 and 7)

These areas were located within the undercroft of the building, against its south-western and north-western walls. Elements of a medieval, if not the original Norman, rammed chalk floor/bedding layer of the undercroft were revealed in both areas, layers 74 and 76 in site sub-division 4 and layers 64 and 65 in site sub-division 5. In site-sub-division 4 the floor/bedding layer was much disturbed by animal burrows, feature 75, and pockets of humanbrown loam, layers 77 and 78, that may represent early accumulations in areas of

3. *Ibid*, p.7.

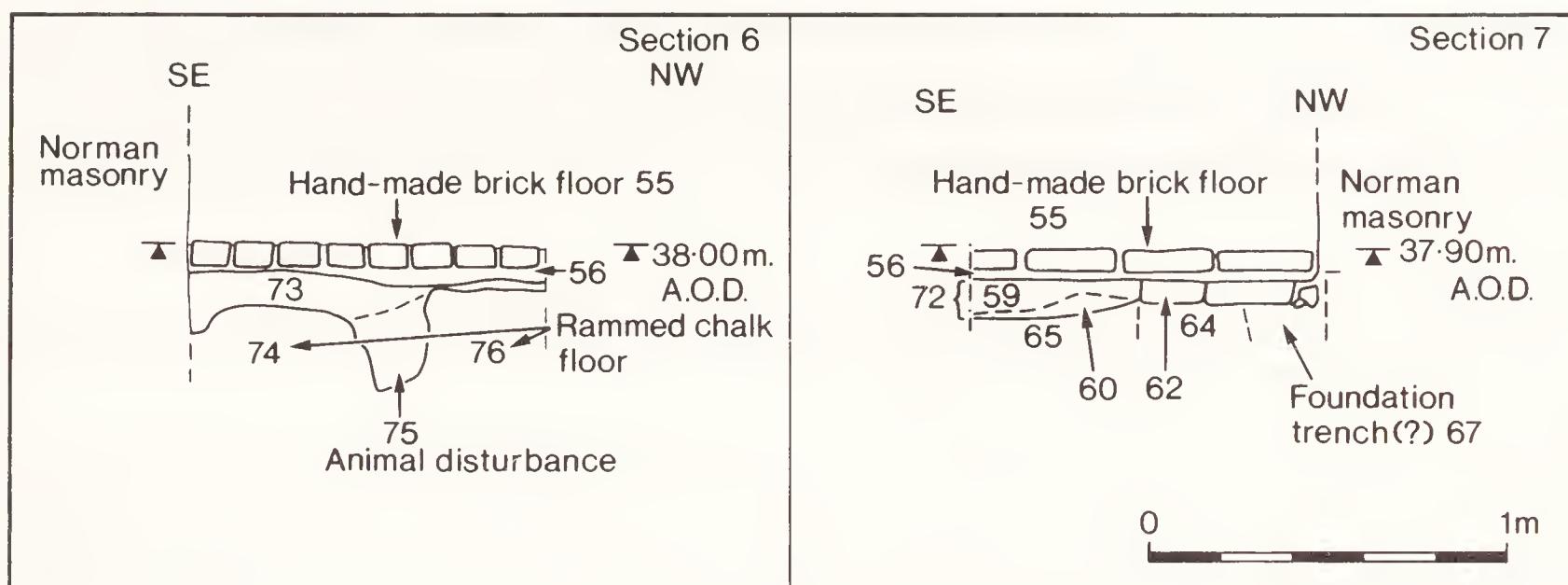


Fig. 4. Section 6 (SSD 4), Section 7 (SSD 5)

wear within the floor/bedding layer (absent on Section 6). The main element of the floor/bedding layer in site sub-division 4 was a white lime mortar with a smooth surface, layer 74; layer 76 probably represented the same material, without the smooth surface. In site sub-division 5 the floor/bedding layer was represented by layers 65 and 64. Layer 65 was located in the south-western corner of the area, and took the form of a firm greyish brown loam, with small fragments of brick or tile. The surface of layer 65 was fairly smooth and it is possible that it had been utilised as a surface. Towards the centre of the area it was sealed by layer 64, a strip of pale brown lime mortar that ran diagonally across the trench.

There was evidence for the existence of a foundation trench against the Norman masonry in both trenches; an area of fill in site sub-division 4, layer 81 (absent on Section 6), and a more clearly defined trench in site sub-division 5, feature 67. Neither of the foundation trenches were fully excavated, nor were the other early contexts that were revealed. In site sub-division 4 these were layers 79 and 80 which may have represented builders' levels, and in site sub-division 5 feature 70 which represented one or two small stake-holes. In both areas the medieval features were sealed by mixed levels containing building debris, layer 72 in site sub-division 4 and layer 73 in site sub-division 5. Layer 73 contained late eighteenth- century material. Layers 72 and 73 were both sealed by layer 56, the orange mortar bedding layer for the extant hand-made brick floor.

CONCLUSIONS

Although the limited nature of the excavation precluded any significant reconsideration of the building's history, the work did serve to elucidate various points of detail. Site sub-division 1 demonstrated that the rebuilding/refacing of the south-eastern wall had involved a certain amount of work on the foundations as they incorporated post-medieval tile and brick fragments. What is not certain is the extent of this work as it would appear possible that at least one part of the original Norman walling survived *in situ* above the footing (feature 54). This block of stone, which displays what may be the remnant of a narrow chamfer, projects beyond the existing wall face by 0.18m and may represent one of the quoins of the south-west angle of the original Norman structure (Fig. 3, Section 1). Further support for the wall having been made narrower during the rebuilding/refacing is provided by the fact that a water-worn boulder extends 0.18-0.20m beyond the existing wall-face at the south-eastern corner of the building, and the reconstructed south-eastern wall is some 0.20m narrower than the surviving Norman north-western wall.

The existence of some form of stairway or forebuilding serving the first-floor doorway on the north-western side of the building is to be expected. The fact that it appeared to rise from the eastern side of the doorway lends support to Wood's suggestion that the corbelled

chimney that exists in the north-western wall at first-floor level was enlarged 'later'.⁴ If this were not the case the chimney would have obstructed the stair.

The limited quantity of finds which were recovered have been catalogued and retained in HBMC (E), Properties in Care archive.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Ms. V. Denham and J. Humble for examining the finds and G. Watkins for commenting on the pottery.

4. *Ibid*, p.4.

A PATTERN-WELDED ANGLO-SAXON SWORD FROM ACKLAM WOLD, NORTH YORKSHIRE

By Barry Ager and Brian Gilmour

In November 1980 workmen attached to the Regular Army uncovered a shallow inhumation burial accompanied by a sword and a plain handmade pot on Greet's Hill Road, Acklam Wold, North Yorkshire, on the site of the Anglian cemetery excavated by J.R. Mortimer in 1878 (Mortimer 1905, 94-5). The finds were reported to John Dent of the Humberside Archaeological Unit, who subsequently supervised recording of the site. The sword, which forms the subject of this article, is now on display, after cleaning and conservation, in the Yorkshire Museum, York.¹

Description

The sword (Fig. 1; Pl. 1) is double-edged and its surviving length is 90.8 cm; allowing for the missing tip, it was originally about 92 cm. The blade, which is finely pattern-welded (see below), measures 5.8 cm wide by 0.3 cm thick at the hilt end and tapers slightly to 4.8 cm wide at 10 cm above the projected position of the tip. When found the blade was broken in two and bent up about 10 cm out of true above the break, but it has since been straightened at the British Museum to facilitate mounting for display.

The fittings of the hilt (described further below) comprise a fine pommel of iron inlaid with vertical gilt-bronze strips, and two gold filigree-decorated bands from either end of the grip. Although few traces remain of the grip and guards, which were made of organic



Plate 1. Hilt of the Anglo-Saxon sword from Acklam Wold. (*British Museum Copyright*)

1. Yorkshire Museum, accession number 1981.421.
See notice in Yorkshire Philosophical Society Report 1981, p. 25.

materials now all but entirely perished, investigation by Jaqui Watson of the Ancient Monuments Laboratory has identified the materials of the grip and upper guard, with interesting results.² Encircling the tang immediately below the pommel, and forming a crusty deposit with lengthwise graining along the underside of it, is a lump of mineral-preserved organic material, 1 cm high, that she reports is probably ivory. Its lower edge is clearly defined by a thin layer of iron deposit and it is wider than the pommel by at least 2 mm on one side. Since the lump is in direct contact with the pommel, it is apparent that the metal plates often riveted above and below the guards of Germanic swords were here dispensed with. Traces of the grip remain in a thin, patchy layer of mineral-preserved wood, possibly maple (*Acer* sp.) or lime (*Tilia* sp.), on both faces of the tang, with the grain running lengthwise. Over this lie some fragments of ivory (?), which are presumed to be from the casing of the grip, inside which the wood would have formed a packing. It has not been possible to identify the composition of the lower guard. However, its upper and lower edges are both defined by two thin, intermittent ridges of iron deposit (visible in Pl. 1), which show that this guard measured 1.4 cm high; again there is no evidence for metal guard-plates. Grain markings continuing along the tang below the upper ridge indicate that the wooden packing passed through or was mortised into the socket of the guard to ensure a secure fit. From the evidence of surviving organic guards and grips of pre eighteenth-century swords, it seems likely that the guards were of elongated elliptical shape and that the tapered grip was provided with three transverse ribs.³

The gold grip mounts, of which the upper is shorter than the lower each consist of filigree-decorated strips which have been curved into an oval (lengthwise diameters: 2.8 cm and 4.1 cm respectively; maximum crosswise diameters: 1.8 cm and 2.4 cm respectively; width in both cases: 4 mm). The ends of the upper mount were butted and fixed to the grip by two small bronze rivets, one of which remains. The ends of the lower mount are now roughly broken open, but, as there are no rivet holes, they may originally have been hammered together. The filigree consists of finely beaded wires soldered round the upper and lower edges of the strips, while the band in between carries a plain median wire, either side of which is laid a cable-twist wire of two strands, also plain and with the spirals set in opposite directions to give a herringbone effect. Helical creases in these plain wires are visible under the microscope and show that they were made by block-twisting (Oddy 1984, 246, pl. 5). It is possible that the mounts were recessed into the ends of the grip next to the guards (cf. the recessed fittings of the Cumberland hilt; Behmer 1939, Taf. 2, 3) and, though the edges of the filigree marginal wires are partly worn, which could have occurred if the mounts had been fixed proud to the grip, it appears that recessing of the mounts has not prevented similar wear on the Cumberland strips, but was desirable to reduce wear of the soft metal.

The pommel is in the form of a parallel-sided iron bar (length, 6.2cm), which is wider than the blade by 2mm at either end. In the flat-topped central area, where the end of the tang is clinched, it is 1.0cm high and from here the back slopes gently away either side to a steep drop at the ends, only one of which is complete, where the sides curve in to a point. The sides and surviving end are inlaid with shallow, U-sectioned gilt bronze strips, 2.1mm wide and set in vertical furrows which continue over the top, except in the centre of the back, which is undecorated. Separating the inlaid strips are single vertical grooves, probably for the inlaying of silver wires which have corroded away.⁴

The only traces of the scabbard are a patch of mineralised leather in the central area of

2. Ancient Monuments Laboratory report no. 4143 (Conservation. 23.1.1984).

3. Cf. swords from Gilton, Kent; Cumberland; Nydam, Denmark and Evebø, Norway (Behmer 1939, Taf. 38,3 and 2,1-3).

4. I am grateful to Mrs L. Webster for pointing out traces of a whitish material in a couple of the grooves that may be the remains of silver wires.

the blade and also many black, mineralised fibres from the scabbard lining on the lower fragment of the blade, which appear to be of animal origin. However, H. Appleyard, of the York Archaeological Trust, reports that, since no detail is visible under the microscope, it must remain uncertain whether this is fleece or fur. As there is no trace of wooden reinforcing boards, which might have been expected, it may be that the scabbard consisted only of lined leather, though such a construction would seem exceptional (see the discussion of scabbards by Davidson 1962, 88-96).

Discussion

With its narrow blade and probably broad, elliptical, one-piece guards, the Acklam sword would conform with Behmer's type I (Behmer 1939, 27), although the pommel, which is so far unique, shares features with, and is possibly influenced by, late examples of his Continental type VIII, which are wire-inlaid, but have composite guards (see below). The use of what appears to be ivory for at least one of the guards and possibly also for the casing of the grip is somewhat unusual, but not without parallel, and may perpetuate a Roman fashion. For example, hilts made entirely of ivory, either composite or one-piece and with button pommels, are found on Roman swords, as on the one from a late third - early fourth-century grave of a wealthy Germanic warrior at Cologne (Lindenschmit 1900, Bd. 4, Taf. 57, 1). Ivory guards are sometimes found on Germanic swords of type I (Behmer 1939, 30) and a fifth-century sword from Krefeld-Gellep II, grave 43, has a grip of bone or ivory, although the lower guard at least is wooden (Pirling 1966, Taf. 10, 1; 121, 5a-b). Also, Roman and native guards and grips of both ivory and bone are known from the terp-mounds of Friesland (Roes 1963, pl. 58, 3-7).

In Anglo-Saxon England, the use of organic materials for the hilt, with minimal metal protection, is well illustrated by the earlier seventh-century hilt of horn or wood from Cumberland (Behmer 1939, Taf. 2, 3) and by the organic upper guard of the sword from Crundale Down, Kent (Behmer 1939, Taf. 45, 1a), datable by the Style II ornament of its gold-capped pommel to the middle or possibly first half of the same century by comparison with the animal ornament of the Book of Durrow and the Sutton Hoo great gold buckle (Roth 1979, 195-7, 209-14; Abb. 77, 2; Taf. 59, 2).⁵ As on Acklam, the guards on both these swords lack any metal plates.

The Acklam pommel would appear to be an elaboration of the simple iron T-bar or oval cap not infrequently employed on early Anglo-Saxon swords, e.g. on one dated c. 500 from Shepperton, Middx. (Baldwin Brown 1915, pl. 26, 2) and on another from Dover, Kent, grave 93, of the sixth century (Evison 1967, fig. 2a). The length of the pommel of the latter measures only 2.7cm, but, as with others of Behmer's types, there is a tendency towards elongation in the pommels of the later examples, e.g. on the sword from Wigber Low, Derbys., burial 4 south, of the seventh century, though the pommel is not yet wider than the blade (Collis 1983, fig. 42, 4265; pls. 12 & 15); or the sword from Holborough, Kent, grave 7, with associations of the late sixth or earlier seventh century, on which the pommel is about the same length as the Acklam one and is likewise slightly wider than the blade (Evison 1956, fig. 15, 2). In fact, a sword with the same wide type of pommel as the latter two is known from another grave at Acklam Wold itself (Mortimer 1905, pl. 28, fig. 224),

5. Such an early date does not conflict with the hypothetical *terminus post quem* of c. 615 that could be suggested on the basis of the 68.5% gold content of the Crundale Down pommel (see below, p. 19 and Bruce-Mitford 1978, 625). Past identification of the material of the upper guard to which it is attached as iron is certainly mistaken: where the lacquer with which it is covered had peeled the graining of wood or horn is clearly visible; also the weight and balance of this detached portion of the sword is wholly inconsistent with the use of iron for the guard.

probably datable to the end of the sixth or to the seventh century.⁶ Similar iron pommels are to be found on Merovingian swords from contexts of the earlier seventh century, e.g. from Gnotzheim, grave 23 (length 3.9cm; Dannheimer 1962, Taf. 28, 21), Niedernberg, grave 2 (length approx. 6cm; Koch 1967, Taf. 9, 11) and Junkersdorf, grave 160 (length 3.9cm; La Baume 1967, Taf. 9, 160: 1). It is notable that, as on the Acklam swords, the guards and grips of these examples, both English and Continental, appear all to have been of organic materials which have perished. However, the higher and markedly more angular and straight-edged outline of the new Acklam pommel sets it in a class apart.

Another distinguishing feature is the method of inlay with concave-sectioned, gilt-bronze strips, probably originally with silver wires in the intervening grooves. This is comparable with the style of inlay on Anglo-Saxon buckles of the early pagan period, most closely with the tongue and loop of a later fifth-century example from Howletts, Kent, grave 28 (Evison 1955, 36, no. 8, pl. 4d) where, however, the strips are silver-gilt and much wider (width: 3.5 - 5.0mm) than on the Acklam pommel (2.0 - 2.5mm). An unassociated buckle of the same inlaid type is known from Croydon, Surrey (*ibid.*, pl. 4c). Professor Evison's research shows that the use of plate inlay in this way was peculiar to the Anglo-Saxons, that the use of plate inlay metalwork in England is generally confined to south of the Humber, almost entirely to the southeast,⁷ and that the craft was declining towards the end of the sixth century, though there is some evidence to demonstrate that it lasted into the seventh. It is possible, therefore, that the pommel was made in southern England, at latest in the seventh century.

The arrangement of the inlay in vertical lines might perhaps reflect the influence of pommels of the typologically late stage of Behmer's Continental type VIII, the type lasting from the end of the sixth century into the eighth, but being predominantly seventh, e.g. on a later seventh-century sword from Knittlingen and another of c. 700 from Dietersheim, Germany, both with iron pommels inlaid with silver wires (Behmer 1939, Taf. 57,9 & 59,1b). The combination of gold and silver (though in just wire and not plate and wire inlay) can be seen on an earlier form of this type of iron pommel, still with zoomorphic terminals, on an Alamannic sword of c. 600 from Landsberg-am-Lech, grave 8 (Christlein 1978, Abb. 47,2)⁸, but here the inlay is in curvilinear designs. Two imported examples of the later form are known from Kent: firstly on a lost sword from Breach Down (Evison 1963, fig. 23c), which appears from the surviving watercolour to have had a bronze pommel inlaid with vertical wires and secondly a mid seventh-century bronze pommel inlaid with vertical silver wires either side of raised central panels with geometric motifs from Grove Ferry, Wickham (Evison 1958, pl. 26g-h, fig. 3). Such imports may have influenced the maker of the Acklam pommel. On the other hand, the differences of outline, design and metals and type of inlay used and the absence of zoomorphism or central panels on our sword should not be forgotten.

While there is no sign that the pommel of the Acklam sword is anything but an original

6. My thanks to Jeff Watkin for this reference, and for notification of the discovery of an Anglo-Saxon sword of this type from Garton Station, Humberside recently excavated by Dr I.M. Stead, who has kindly allowed me to see the sword and take rough measurements before conservation. The pommel of this sword is approximately 6cm wide (0.5cm wider than the blade) and 1.0 - 1.2cm high. Unpublished examples include swords from Droxford, Hants. (Brit. Mus. reg. no. M&LA 1902, 7-22, 172; surviving length of pommel, 5.4cm) and Dover, Kent, grave 71 (Brit. Mus. reg. no. M&LA 1963, 11-8, 416; pommel length, 5.6cm, i.e. 2mm wider than the blade). A hump-backed variant of the pommel type, probably imitating the bronze 'cocked-hat' form, occurs on a sword from Mitcham, Surrey, ascribed to the sixth century by Wheeler (1935, pl. 13,1). His attribution to grave 28 is incorrect and it was probably from grave 163 (Bidder & Morris 1959, 119).
7. The recent discovery of wire and sheet inlaid buckles at Sewerby, Humberside, now suggests that the craft could have been practised north of the Humber too, though the style is not the same as that of the Acklam sword (Hirst 1985, figs. 40/G23/6 and 57/G56/5).
8. I am grateful to Dr M. Welch for this reference.

fitment, the situation regarding the gold grip-mounts is less certain. Such embellishments could be replaced when worn or added at a later stage in the 'life' of a sword. The use of strip mounts at the ends of the grips of Germanic swords appears to have come about during the course of the sixth century, as seen ornamented in Style I on the type V sword from Snartemo, Norway, grave 2 (Behmer 1939, Taf. 30,1) and reaches its most elaborate on foreign type VI swords of the seventh, e.g. from Nocera Umbra, Italy (*ibid.*, Taf. 41,7). On Anglo-Saxon swords, however, a restriction to narrow strips of gold or gilt-bronze is usual, as on the late sixth-century ring-sword from Coombe, Kent, on a sixth-century sword from Dover, grave 98⁹ and on the seventh-century hilts from Cumberland and Crundale Down (Behmer 1939, Taf. 2,3; and 45,1a; Davidson & Webster 1967, pls 4-5; Evison 1967, fig. 12). The Acklam mounts conform with this type.

The arrangement of the wires in a herringbone pattern either side of a plain median spine is a metalworking technique that makes its earliest coin-dated appearance in the North Sea region on Frisian jewellery from the Wieuwerd hoard, e.g. round the rim of the gold pendant with zoomorphic swastika and in the filigree frames of the ring mounted with a barbarian imitation solidus and of the large coin-pendants set with solidi of Maurice, Phocas and Chlothar II (Lafaurie, Jansen & Jitta 1961, pls. 4,4-5; 5, 21; 6H & M). On coin evidence, this treasure was buried before 640, probably c. 627/30 (*ibid.*, 84, 105)¹⁰, though on the evidence of wear the items just noted must have been made some time previously. Not, however, as early as the sixth-century date inferred for the mounts of the coin-pendants (*ibid.*, 104) since an earlier seventh-century date is now established for the Wilton and Ixworth crosses (Bruce-Mitford 1974, 31) with the barrel-shaped loops of which those of the Wieuwerd pendants were compared; nor does the affinity invoked with Scandinavian bracteates of the fifth and sixth centuries seem sufficiently striking to support an early date¹¹. Gold of 22 to 24 carats wears very quickly, so the pendants need not have been of any great age when buried; also the coins of the two largest pendants (one of 602-610, the other of 582-602) are very worn while their mounts are in quite a good state of preservation showing that the coins must have been converted into jewellery after some while in circulation and must furthermore be older than the mounts, or these too would be more worn. The jewellery of the Wieuwerd hoard can be safely ascribed to the earlier seventh century.

The 'herringbone with spine' pattern can also be seen framing the bezel of ring set with an indeterminate triens from Westergeest, Frisia (Lafaurie, Jansen & Jitta 1961, pl. 17,4) and, doubly, round the hoop of an unprovenanced Merovingian ring mounted with a solidus of Constantius II (Marshall 1907, no. 269, fig. 54)¹². In a more elaborate form, with the cable-twists composed of one plain and one beaded wire together, the pattern is used on a ring of the early seventh century, said to be from London, but probably also Merovingian in origin (Nelson 1939, pl. 42,3).

The technique appears to be of Italo-Byzantine inspiration. It is employed, between panels of scrolls, on the gold grip-mounts of a Lombardic sword from Nocera Umbra, Italy, grave 1, of c. 600 (von Jenny & Volbach 1933, pl. 18) and also in the borders of a pair of unprovenanced sixth to seventh-century ear-rings of a type found in Lombardic graves (Coche de la Ferté 1962, pl. 17; cf, Aberg 1923, Abb. 137). It is seen at its most delicate in Byzantine jewellery of the seventh or possibly sixth century. e.g. in the frames of the semi-circular pendant of an openwork gold filigree ear-ring from the collection of Signor A. Castellani at Rome (Dalton 1901, no. 269, pl.5). in the frames and roundels of similar ear-

9. British Museum reg. no. M&LA 1963, 11-8, 511.

10. See note 16 below for its probable contemporary appearance on the Anglo-Saxon pendant from Bacton.

11. As noted by Lafaurie *et al.* themselves (1961, 99) a comparison with the coin-pendants of c. 600 from Castel Trosino, Italy, is however, particularly close (see von Jenny & Volbach 1933, pls. 20-21).

12. Brit. Mus. reg. no. M&LA 1969,9-1,2.

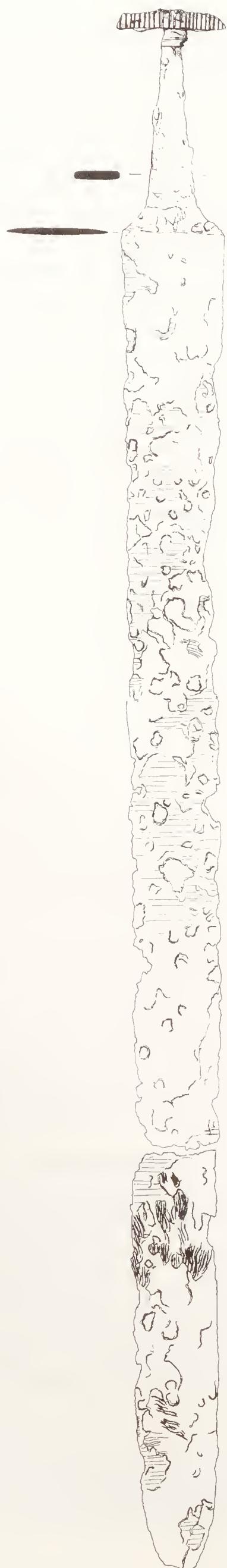


Fig. 1. Anglo-Saxon sword from Acklam Wold.
Scale: 1:4.47.

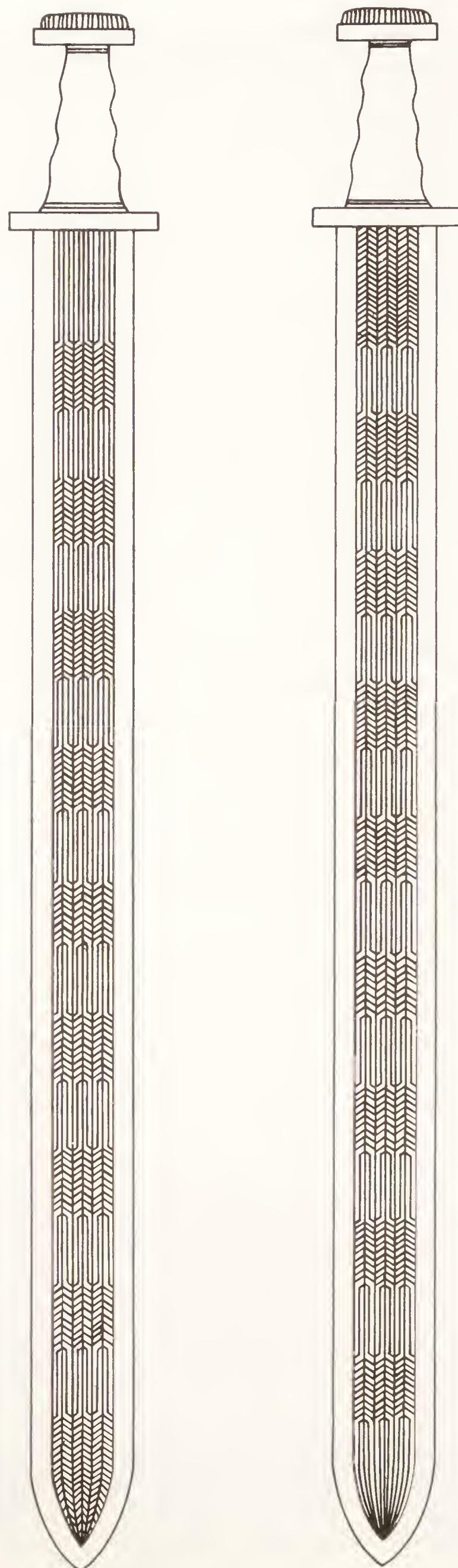


Fig. 2. Acklam sword: approximate original
appearance of both sides.

rings from the Rhine at Mainz, from a sale in Paris and from Spain (British Museum reg. no. M&LA 1904, 11-29, 10; Dalton 1901, no 278, fig. on p. 45; von Jenny & Volbach 1933, pl. 26,1)¹³, and it imitates a more sophisticated method dating back to classical times which used ribbed gold strips in place of the cable-twists, as round the edge of the pendant of another Lombardic ear-ring from the Castellani collection¹⁴ and in the border of a medallion of the second century A.D. from Egypt (Garside 1979, p. 114, no. 317).

In Anglo-Saxon jewellery of the late pagan period the latter technique is unknown and the filigree 'herringbone with spine' is rare. It is strong negative evidence for the date of its adoption in this country not earlier than the seventh century that, in spite of the wide variety of filigree patterns used on plated disc and composite brooches of the late sixth and earlier seventh centuries, it does not appear on them, although the ordinary herringbone without spine does (Avent 1975, figs. 26 & 30, 3.5, 3.6)¹⁵. However, it does occur, using finely beaded wires both for the spine and for one if not the other of the cable-twists round the sides of the cloisonné tongue-plate of a Style II triangular buckle from a grave of the earlier seventh century at Wickhambreux, Kent (the buckle is illustrated in Speake 1980, pl. 6d)¹⁶. While the pattern is not found in filigree in the rich metalwork from the Sutton Hoo ship-burial, deposited c. 625, it does seem to be imitated in repoussé in the ornamentation of the bodies of the interlaced animals on the rectangular, silver-gilt mounts from the maplewood bottles of this treasure (Bruce-Mitford 1983, fig. 261). There is evidence that the technique continued in use by Anglo-Saxon craftsmen from the seventh into possibly the earlier ninth century, as in the borders of two gold rings from Bossington and Garrick Street (Hinton 1974, cat. no. 4, pl. 5.4; Jessup 1950, pl. 36, 8 & 10; Dalton 1912 cat. no. 204, pl. 2) which are probably to be dated to the late eighth or early ninth century, though on the grounds of style alone, a seventh-century date for the former is not to be ruled out (Hinton 1974, 9-12). It is found, too, on each cross-arm of the external base escutcheon of a lost eighth-century hanging bowl, of Mercian or Northumbrian origin, from the River Witham (Small, Thomas & Wilson 1973, pl. 52). On the basis of the above stylistic evidence, the Acklam mounts can be dated approximately c. 600 - 850 and, since it has been established that the pommel is Anglo-Saxon, could have been made anywhere in the England of the time, including the North.

Happily this finding is in mutual agreement with, and given greater precision by, scientific investigation. The gold of the bands has been semi-quantitatively analysed by Paul Wilthew of the Ancient Monuments Laboratory using X-ray fluorescence spectroscopy.¹⁷ His examination shows that there is no detectable difference between the compositions of the two bands, the best estimate of which is: 38% gold, 60% silver and 2% copper. Research by P.D.C. Brown and F. Schweizer (1973) has suggested the probability that Merovingian gold coins provided the source of metal for Anglo-Saxon gold jewellery

- 13. I am grateful to my colleague Chris Entwhistle for referring me to the Spanish example and for informing me of the dating of these Byzantine pieces. It is instructive to note that they also have the filigree heart-shaped and S-scrolls adopted by the Anglo-Saxon craftsmen of plated and composite disc brooches, gold pendants, etc., while the ear-ring from Mainz indicates that, in the Rhineland, the technique and designs could have been directly emulated from imported objects.
- 14. Brit. Mus. reg. no. M&LA 72, 6-4, 597a.
- 15. Also, the simple herringbone alone is used on the richly filigree decorated gold buckle of the same period from Taplow, Bucks. (Speake 1980, pl. 7f).
- 16. It seems likely that the arrangement was used round the sides of the gold and garnet pendant from Bacton, Norfolk, set with an imitation solidus of Maurice and Theodosius (582 - 602; Jessup 1950, pl. 28 top left, but the side is not visible). A beaded median wire encircles the frame, with a filigree cable-twist in a groove on one side and an empty groove on the other, almost certainly for an opposed cable-twist. The subject of the manufacture and use of gold filigree by Celtic and Germanic craftsmen is currently being researched by Mrs Niamh Whitfield, and I am most grateful to her for enlightening and instructive discussion of aspects of her work from which I have profited in writing this article.
- 17. Ancient Monuments Laboratory report no. 4250.

of the seventh century. On the likely assumption that this was the case, though of course it is not proven, comparison with Dr J.P.C. Kent's time/fineness graph relating to the progressive debasement of Merovingian extra-Provençal gold tremisses (Kent 1972) indicates that the Acklam mounts could have been made after the late 630's or, with stronger probability, after about 650.¹⁸ Wilthew makes the point that deliberately debased gold could have been used earlier, but observes further that 'in view of the high level of workmanship displayed in making the bands this seems unlikely'.¹⁹

If the bands are original fittings, the sword should, therefore, probably be dated to the middle or later part of the seventh century, which is not in conflict with the typological and stylistic evidence. If, however, they are later embellishments or replacements, such evidence does not exclude the possibility that the sword belongs to the earlier seventh or even late sixth century. This would agree better with the plate-and-wire inlay of the pommel, not otherwise attested for such a late period; but, since we cannot be certain either way, a provisional late sixth to later seventh-century bracket would seem best to cover the possible range in date for the sword.

In view of the bent and broken condition of the blade when reported to the local Archaeological Unit, there remains the question of possible ritual 'killing' of the weapon, a custom known from the Dark Age period and earlier (Grinsell 1961; Davidson 1962, 10). Unfortunately, we cannot now be sure whether or not the blade was broken before it was found. But considerable force must have been used to bend it before burial to overcome the spring of the pattern-welding (still effective when the straightening was undertaken in the laboratory!)²⁰ and it would appear therefore that the damage was deliberate, perhaps to render the sword 'dead'. If this were the case, it may be compared with the ritual double folding and breaking of a late sixth to seventh-century sword from Loveden Hill, Lincs. (Grinsell 1961, 488).

Comparative technical, typological and analytical evidence has shown that the date of manufacture of the Acklam sword lies within the late sixth or, more likely, the seventh century, while the style of inlay suggests that the pommel (if not therefore the whole sword) could have been made in England south of the Humber or else, if a local product, was made under the influence of a southern workshop. This conclusion rests of necessity, on somewhat incomplete evidence, as the recent discovery of inlaid metalwork at Sewerby indicates. Nevertheless, it is tempting to draw a connection here with the periods of

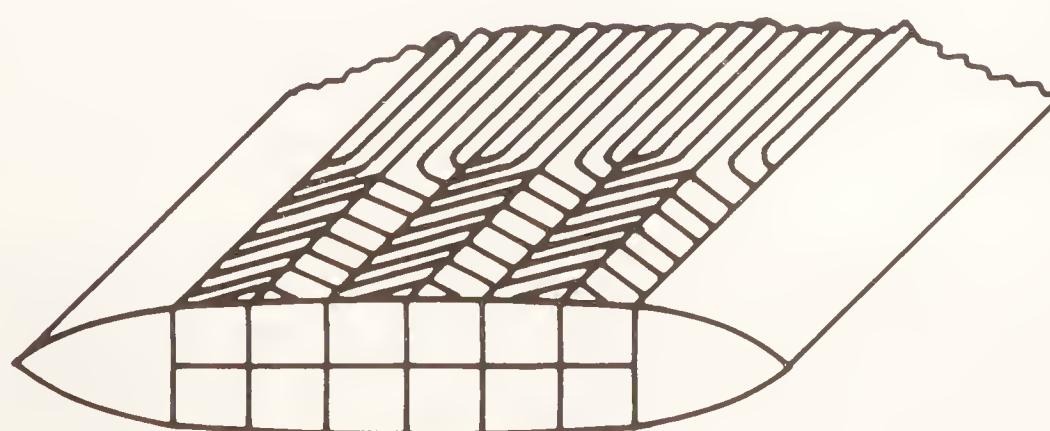


Fig. 3. Acklam sword: conjectural three-dimensional view through blade.

- 18. But see the criticism of Dr. Kent's views by Brown (1981).
- 19. *In lit. to Mrs E Hartley (3.4.1984).*
- 20. I am grateful to Ian McIntyre for his observations on this work.
- 21. Since this section was written the author has noted a small strip of herringbone filigree with spine on one of the clips of the purse-lid from the Sutton Hoo ship-burial, deposited c. 625 (Bruce Mitford 1978, fig. 433e)

supremacy of Northumbrian kings over various other kingdoms throughout much of the seventh century, particularly under Edwin (616 - 632), Oswald (633 - 641) and Oswiu (654 - 657), links which appear to be reflected in other archaeological evidence in the early part of the century (Hirst 1985, 56). Was the Acklam sword part of tribute or a diplomatic gift from a southern royal house, could the swordsmith himself have been commissioned to work in Northumbria, or did a northern craftsman imitate a southern fashion in filigree work and inlay? It is to be hoped that further research will provide the answer. Certainly, with its gilt-bronze and silver (?) inlaid pommel, ivory hilt and gold filigree-decorated grip-mounts, the weapon represents a fine insular counterpart to the Continental wire-inlaid swords of Behmer's type VIII. The high quality of its fittings is well matched by the elaborate pattern-welding of the blade, described below.²¹

Pattern welding and general structure of the blade

This report is based on an examination of a radiograph plus a visual inspection of the sword blade from Acklam. Its condition is fairly typical for iron objects of this kind buried in non-waterlogged conditions. Adhering to the surface over parts of the blade was a flakey incrustation, probably the partial remains of a scabbard. Where this was missing the very pitted corroded surface of the blade could be seen. Although the surface corrosion of the blade was severe and uneven the underlying survival of the metallic core of the blade appeared to be better than might be expected. In some of the corrosion pits possible traces of the diagonal elements of pattern-welding could be seen down the central part of the blade.

A radiograph showed the blade to have a fairly complex pattern-welded central part. The detail showed up comparatively clearly and it was possible to separate the double image and therefore, the form of pattern-welded design that would have appeared on either side of the blade (Fig. 2). In total twelve different pieces made up the pattern-welding, six on either side of the blade. Each piece consisted of a rod, probably of complete manufacture, which had been twisted and left straight at mostly equal intervals along its length. The twists of each rod were all in the same direction. Each rod had then been welded next to a similar rod whose twists ran in the opposite direction. The lengths of the twisted and untwisted portions were so similar that when the six rods of each set were welded together side by side, the twisted and untwisted portions matched across the width of the pattern-welding.

There was no hint in the radiograph of a separate central plain core piece to which the two sets of six rods might have been welded. Conversely the radiograph was sufficiently clear to suggest that the two sets of six rods were welded together back to back as a double layer without any such central core piece. The cutting edges would have been welded on finally to complete the blade. Fig. 3 shows a three-dimensional view of the blade and illustrates the simplest possible structure for the blade. It is quite likely that the cutting edges are more complex than is shown here. Recent metallographic work on other swords of the Early Saxon period has shown that the cutting edges are often more complex than this. Steel appears to have been used only occasionally to provide a harder tip to the cutting edges (Tylecote and Gilmour, forthcoming) and may or may not have been used here.

Little more can be said about either the general structure, or the metallurgy of the blade without metallographically examining a section from the blade. The pattern-welded structure must have been clearly visible after final forging, polishing and etching. The pattern-welding has been very precisely carried out so as to result in a pattern consisting of panels of chevron and straight grain pattern alternating down the central part of the blade. The pattern is similar on either side of the blade, with the same size panels and the chevrons always pointing towards the hilt. However the order in which the pattern alternates reverses so that the uppermost panel is straight grained on one side and shows chevrons on

the other.

This is the only example so far recorded in Britain, of a pattern-welded design formed by welding as many as six composite rods side by side. The closest parallel would appear to be the pattern-welded sword from the cemetery at Loveden Hill in Lincolnshire. This sword was found with a hanging bowl of (?) late sixth/early seventh-century type (Grinsell 1961, 488) and the pattern-welded design was formed from five composite rods welded side by side in a design similar to that of the Acklam sword. The Loveden blade was sectioned and found to consist of two patterned layers welded together without any central plain core piece (Tylecote and Gilmour, forthcoming). From the evidence so far accumulated it seems fairly clear that where the pattern-welding of a sword consists of two layers each of four or more composite rods welded side by side, the two layers were welded together without any central core piece in between. A central core piece is often found in blades where fewer rods were used in the pattern welding (*ibid.*).

It is very uncommon to find more than four composite rods welded side by side to form a pattern welded design (*ibid*; Lang and Ager, forthcoming; Anstee and Biek 1961, table 1). It may therefore be of significance that the Acklam and Loveden swords, which may be of similar dates (both ?c AD 600), are both examples where more than four rods have been welded together side by side to give the pattern-welded design. Both swords came from an area where swords of this period are not commonly found. It may be unwise as yet to do more than suggest that this might be an indication of a regional preference for a particular style of pattern-welding. More work on other sword blades from this and other areas should help to clarify this point.

In conclusion it can be said that the Acklam sword has a complex pattern-welded blade with twelve composite rods twisted at intervals and welded together to make up a double layered core onto which the cutting edges of the weapon were welded (Fig. 3). Judged alone by the skill and precision of the pattern-welding the quality of blade smithing would appear to be very high. The pattern is of a distinctive type and its complexity would suggest it took longer to make and, therefore was more expensive and perhaps more highly prized than other simpler pattern-welded swords. A very high standard of welding can probably be assumed but without any metallographic examination the quality or type of iron used and the possible incorporation of steel with or without subsequent heat treatments cannot be estimated. In the case of the Loveden Hill sword simple low carbon iron cutting edges had been welded onto a pattern-welded core whose carbon content was low but variable. The Loveden blade was a very good weapon from a decorative point of view but rather less so from a metallurgical viewpoint. The Acklam sword may be similar but without further work it is impossible to know.

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THE RETURN OF THE FEE OF ROBERT DE BRUS IN DOMESDAY

By Peter King

At Christmas 1085 King William the Conqueror issued orders for the making of his great survey, which became known as Domesday. Hitherto the portion of *Domesday Book* which is concerned with the fee of Robert de Brus in Yorkshire has received little attention. It extends not much beyond one side of a single folio and is the only return of a fee known not to date from the original inquiry of 1086.¹ It is prefaced by the statement '*Hic est Feudum Rotberti de Brus quod fut datum postquam Liber de Wintonia scriptio fuit*' and the lands which were listed are all recorded again elsewhere in Domesday as part of the fees of other lords or as part of the *Terra Regis*.² Few of the principal students of Domesday studies have so much as mentioned this remarkable document and only Farrer ventured a date, suggesting that it was added in the decade after 1120.³ This paper will be largely concerned with the same evidence Farrer used in reaching this conclusion, but will suggest that he dated the addition so late as a result of misinterpretation of that evidence. It will be shown that the return of the fee of Robert de Brus was drawn up in the period between the end of 1114 and 1119.

The first clue to the date of this section of Domesday is the mention in the text of the Norman lord Robert Fossard. Some of the lands which Robert de Brus held at Kirkburn and elsewhere in the East Riding of Yorkshire formed part of the Fossard honour and in 1166 his grandson Adam de Brus was returned in the inquest of knights among the tenants of William Fossard, holding a knight's fee.⁴ Robert Fossard was the son of the Domesday tenant Nigel Fossard, who in 1086 held his lands of the count of Mortain, but was later a tenant-in-chief in his own right.⁵ It seems clear that the return of the Brus fee must date from after the death of Nigel, when his son Robert had taken possession of the honour. The available evidence suggests that Nigel was living well into the reign of Henry I. He is named in a schedule of lands held in Allertonshire in the North Riding of Yorkshire by Durham cathedral, which dates from after 1100, and he also appears as a witness to a charter of liberties which were granted to the town of Beverley by Archbishop Thurstan of York, who was enthroned in December 1114.⁶ Farrer dated this second document to 1114-28 and it seems that this was his reason for suggesting that Nigel Fossard survived until c.1120.⁷ His evidence for the date of Thurstan's charter came from the pipe roll for 1130.⁸ Robert's fee was then being held by the crown against a debt of 1,000 marks.⁹ He also owed a second debt of 4ls 8d '*pro recuperanda terra sua primitus*' and a little further on in the accounts Robert is recorded again as owing another debt of 60 marks '*ut resaisiatur de*

1. *Domesday Book, seu liber censualis vocatus Domesday Book*, ed. A. Farley for the Record Commission in 4 vols., (London, 1783-1816), (hereafter cited as *DB*), i, 332v-333.
2. *DB*, 299-302v, 327v-28.
3. *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. W. Farrer and C. Clay, 12 vols., (Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, 1914-65), (hereafter cited as *EYC*), ii, 11.
4. *Liber Rubeus de Scaccario; The Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. H. Hall, 3 vols., (Rolls Series, 1896), i, 407.
5. *DB*, i, 305-8v; *EYC*, ii, 326.
6. *Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, ed. Stevenson, (Surtees Society, 1841), p.77; *EYC*, i, 90-1.
7. *EYC*, ii, 326.
8. *EYC*, i, 91.
9. *The Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I*, ed. Record Commission, (London, 1929), (hereafter cited as *PR 31 Henry I*), p.25.

terra sua'.¹⁰ In another entry Bertram de Bulmer, who it seems had quite recently succeeded his father Aschetin as sheriff of Yorkshire, owed £55 6s 'quos pater suus cepit de terra Roberti Fossardi'.¹¹ This shows that Robert held his fee before the death of Aschetin de Bulmer, which must have occurred in 1129 at the latest, but he still had what Farrer seems to have considered to be his feudal relief largely unpaid. Thus Farrer suggested that 1128 was the latest date at which Nigel Fossard could have been alive and thus the latest date at which Thurstan's charter could have been issued. However, 1,000 marks was no paltry sum in 1130 and there are very few comparable examples of such a heavy relief being demanded until the notorious impositions of King John. The Fossard entries also include the words '*recuperanda*', '*resaisiatur*' and also '*rehabeat*' and '*rehabebit*'. Such terms do not suggest that the fines were imposed as a result of Robert's succession to an inheritance but rather that he had previously enjoyed full seisin of his lands and now owed the debts to recover what he had lost. The number of these debts and the fact that one was 'to recover his land in the first place' also strongly suggests that Robert had suffered more than one forfeiture and thus that he had been periodically at least in possession of his fee for some time. This makes it far less likely that Nigel Fossard was alive in the late 1120s.

The liberties which Thurstan granted to Beverley were referred to in a writ issued by Henry I in which he announced that he had confirmed '*liberas leges et consuetudines burgensium de Eboraco et suum gilde mercatorum.....sicut Turstinus archiepiscopus ea eis dedit et carta sua confirmavit*'.¹² The date of this document is not certain. It was attested by '*G. cancellario*' and '*R. com. de Medlent*'. The only 'G' to be Henry's chancellor was Geoffrey *rufus* who held the office from early 1123 until the end of May 1133.¹³ However, Robert count of Meulan, the other witness, died in June 1118 and between 1114 and 1118 the only chancellor was named Ranulf.¹⁴ The writ survives only in copies and Farrer sought to reconcile the contradiction by suggesting that a careless scribe had omitted the word '*filio*' after the 'R', thus making the second witness Robert earl of Leicester, the younger son of Robert de Meulan.¹⁵ On this basis he dated the writ to 1124-33, within the tenure of Geoffrey *rufus*. More recently Johnson and Cronne revised the date of this writ and placed it to between 1114 and April 1116.¹⁶ They suggested that the confusion in the testing clause was due to a scribe mistaking 'G' and 'R' and thus that Renulf had in fact been the chancellor. Since the writ was issued at Woodstock in England it had to have been issued before April 1116. The king went to Normandy in that month and did not return until November 1120, well after the death of Robert de Meulan.¹⁷

This would seem to indicate that Thurstan's charter was also issued before April 1116. However, while Johnson and Cronne dated the writ to 1114-16 they also recorded Thurstan's charter itself in the *Regesta* and dated it, provisionally, to the autumn of 1122.¹⁸ This is not necessarily impossible. In his charter Thurstan refers to the king's '*carta confirmavit statuta nostra et leges nostras*', which might seem to imply that there had been an earlier grant of the same liberties which were confirmed by an already existing royal charter. Also, Johnson and Cronne noted that Thurstan's charter was witnessed, among others, by Walter Espec and Eustace fitzJohn. In the 1120s and until the end of King

10. *Ibid.*, pp.25, 30.

11. *Ibid.*, p.24.

12. *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum ii*, ed. C. Johnson and H.A. Cronne, (Oxford, 1956), (hereafter cited as *Regesta ii*), no.1137. For the latin text see *EYC*, i, 92.

13. *Regesta ii*, pp-ix-x.

14. *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. M. Chibnall, 6 vols., (Oxford, 1969-80), vi, 188; *Regesta ii*, p. ix.

15. *EYC*, i, 92.

16. *Regesta ii*, no.1137.

17. W.Farrer, 'An Outline Itinerary of King Henry the First', *English Historical Review*, xxxiv, (1919), pp.381, 513.

18. *Regesta ii*, no.1332.

Henry's reign these men were the foremost royal officers in Yorkshire and they are found alone or together as the witnesses to and the addressees of numerous royal documents. Before that period, however, they are both very obscure and the earliest certain reference to Walter Espec is in 1121 when he was among barons who assembled at Durham to hear evidence in a lawsuit.¹⁹ Walter is known to have been in York during the autumn of 1122 for he appears as the witness to another royal writ issued at that time from the city.²⁰ It is possible that he and Eustace fitzJohn were together in the company of the king, perhaps acting as justices, in which capacity they seem to have served together in Yorkshire during 1129-30.²¹

There was a reason why Thurstan might have made his grant of liberties to Beverley twice, once before April 1116 and again in the early 1120s. He spent the first seven years of his episcopate in dispute with the king for refusing to accept the superiority of Canterbury over York.²² In March 1116 Thurstan actually resigned the temporalities of his see back to the king and the two men were only reconciled in January 1121.²³ In the meantime royal officers such as Nigel d'Albini and Serlo de Burgh had charge of the archiepiscopal lands.²⁴ This interruption in Thurstan's tenure might well have cast some doubt upon the continuing validity of any grants made by Thurstan before his resignation and so have persuaded the townsfolk of Beverley to seek a second charter when he had returned.

However, this evidence is far from conclusive and the case in favour of the charter which survives today being of an earlier date than 1122 seems much stronger. In the first place, there is only the one charter in existence and if the circumstantial evidence of the witnesses noted above and of Thurstan's exile is for the moment put aside then the only real indication that there might have been an earlier charter is Thurstan's statement that the king had already confirmed the same liberties which he was then granting to Beverley. It is possible, however, that Thurstan was not referring to a previous royal charter but to one which was issued, or had at least been drawn up, at the same time as his own. Thurstan's words, '*preterea non lateat vos quod dominus H rex noster nobis concessit potestatem faciendi h(oc) de bona voluntate sua et sua carta confirmavit*', may indicate that this was so.²⁵ They suggest that the archbishop had discussed the grant with the king, had obtained royal approval and that a charter of confirmation had been promised. Thurstan issued his charter at York and it could be argued that the best occasion for such a chain of events was indeed the autumn of 1122 when the king and his scriptorium were in the city and conveniently close at hand.²⁶ However, Thurstan's charter was attested by '*coram tota familia archiepiscopi clericis et laicis in Eboraco*'.²⁷ This would hardly have met had the king also been holding court in the city.

The appearance of Walter Espec and Eustace fitzJohn among the witnesses to Thurstan's charter need not mitigate against an early date. When Walter Espec does first appear in historical records he was already a well established baronial figure. At Durham in 1121 he was in the company of such men as Robert de Brus, Alan de Percy and others described by a chronicler as '*principalium vivorum*'.²⁸ The chronicler was a Durham monk but this was not base flattery for in the end the case went against his house. Walter was also given a degree of precedence, being placed third after Brus and Percy, but before important royal officers such as Forne son of Sigulf and the sheriff of Northumberland. In

19. *Symeon of Durham, Historical Works*, ed. T. Arnold, (Rolls Series, 1881-5), (hereafter cited as *Symeon*), ii, 261.

20. *Regesta ii*, no.1333.

21. *PR 31 Henry I*, pp.32-4.

22. D.Nicholl, *Thurstan, Archbishop of York*, (York, 1964), pp.41-74.

23. *Ibid.*, p.74.

24. *Ibid.*, pp.111-13.

25. *EYC*, i, 90.

26. Farrer, 'Itinerary', *op.cit.*, pp.526-7.

27. *EYC*, i,91.

28. *Symeon, op.cit.*.

1122 Walter founded his own Augustinian priory at Kirkham on his estates in the East Riding of Yorkshire.²⁹ He had then sufficient prestige to recruit the first canons from the priory of Nostell. It was then led by Athelwulf, formerly chaplain to the king and later bishop of Carlisle, and itself enjoyed not inconsiderable royal favour.³⁰ Walter could well have been active in Yorkshire in some capacity as early as 1114-16. The same seems to have been true in the case of Eustace fitzJohn. Although he did not rise to prominence until the 1120s he appears as the witness of a writ issued by the king in the period before April 1116.³¹ This dealt with property belonging to the great monastery of St Mary's at York and is an early link between him and royal government in the north.

In this light there seems to be little reason for doubting that Thurstan's charter could have been issued as early as 1116 and that it and the writ announcing royal confirmation of liberties granted to Beverley by Thurstan pertain to the same event. The last recorded act of Nigel Fossard, his witnessing of Thurstan's charter, could have taken place only a short while after the archbishop's enthronement and thus it can be reasonably suggested that Robert could have succeeded him at any time after December 1114. That same date can therefore be taken as the earliest at which the return of the Brus fee in Domesday could have been made.

In the years after 1086 Robert de Brus built up a considerable honour in Yorkshire and Durham, mostly through grants from the crown.³² The majority of his estates in Yorkshire, Durham being beyond the scope of Domesday, are found in the return of his fee, but there are also significant omissions. The most important of these is Robert's last major acquisition of land in England. This was made up of estates belonging to the fee of Richard de Surdeval.³³ Like Nigel Fossard, Richard was a tenant of the count of Mortain in 1068 and later became a tenant-in-chief in his own right.³⁴ There does not seem to have been any connection between Robert de Brus and Richard de Surdeval by kinship or marriage. Dugdale believed that Robert's wife Agnes was the daughter of Fulk Paynel, who may have been Richard's kinsman, but Farrer's suggestion, that Agnes was the daughter of the sheriff Geoffrey Bainard, presents far fewer difficulties.³⁵ It seems, therefore, that Robert must have acquired his portion of the lands of Richard de Surdeval from the hands of the king, after the Surdeval estates had been taken back into the royal demesne. This is how he obtained his land in Eskdale, also in north-east Yorkshire, which had originally belonged to the fee of Hugh fitzBaldric.³⁶ After Hugh's death or disgrace the twelve carucates in Eskdale escheated to the crown and were subsequently granted to Robert as part of an exchange.³⁷ They and the other lands acquired by Robert in that exchange are recorded in the Domesday return of his fee. The omission of the lands which Robert acquired after the death of Richard de Surdeval suggests that he received them only after the survey of his other estates.

Robert was granted those of Richard de Surdeval's estates which lay in central Cleveland and it was upon them that he established the *caput* of his English lands.³⁸ The castle and fortified burgh at Skelton, which certainly date from Robert's tenure and may have been built by Richard, became his administrative headquarters.³⁹ Three miles to the

29. J.C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England*, (London, 1950), p.123, n.3.

30. *EYC*, iii, 128ff.

31. *Regesta ii*, no.1130.

32. *EYC*, ii, 11-19.

33. *EYC*, ii,19-

34. *DB*, i, 305-8v; *EYC*, ii 326.

35. *EYC*, ii,11.

36. *DB*, i, 327v-28.

37. *Regesta ii*, no.648.

38. *EYC*, ii,19.

39. W.L'Anson, 'Castles of the North Riding', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, xxii, (1913), pp.380-2.

south-west, at Guisborough, Robert founded a community for Austin canons and built a priory. Two different dates have been given for this foundation. Walter of Hemingbrough, who wrote in the thirteenth century, placed it in 1129.⁴⁰ This was accepted by Dugdale and later by Farrer, but Camden and other antiquarian authorities placed the foundation in 1119.⁴¹ This matter has been discussed at length by W. Brown in his introduction to the *Guisborough Cartulary*.⁴² He observed that the two charters purporting to be foundation charters contained in the cartulary both mention Pope Calixtus II as a sponsor of the project.⁴³ Calixtus, who was elected in February 1119, also issued a charter confirming the foundation of Guisborough before his death at the end of 1124.⁴⁴ Farrer condemned this document, but aside from the fact that it is recorded only in the Guisborough cartulary, there seems to be no reason to doubt its veracity.⁴⁵ The first confirmation charter given to the monastery by Henry I also indicates the earlier date. It was witnessed by Ranulf Flambard who died in September 1128.⁴⁶ Perhaps, as J. E. Burton has suggested, Walter of Hemingbrough simply mistook MCXXIX for MCXIX.⁴⁷ Brown thought that the error may have been more subtle - a confusion between the two charters in the cartulary which, though different, both claim to be foundation charters.⁴⁸ Whichever was the case it seems much more likely that 1119 is the correct date for the foundation of Guisborough rather than 1129.

Robert's endowment to the priory consisted of almost the entire vill of Guisborough, some twenty carucates of land, as well as nine carucates in nearby Kirkleatham, nine demesne churches and some tithes.⁴⁹ The return of Robert's fee in Domesday records that he had only one carucate of land in Guisborough, formerly of the royal demesne. At sometime, perhaps before 1119, he also acquired two bovates in that vill and two carucates in Kirkleatham which were in the soke of Lofthouse and were held by Robert as the tenant of the earl of Chester.⁵⁰ In 1086, however, the count of Mortain held twenty-five carucates in Guisborough and two neighbouring vills and nine carucates in Kirkleatham.⁵¹ These appear to have been held in demesne at that time, but Uchtred, who held the estates before the Conquest, was Richard de Surdeval's predecessor at other places in Cleveland and there seems little doubt that they were granted to Richard after 1086 and passed from him to the Brus fee.⁵² The death of Richard de Surdeval must clearly be placed before the foundation of Guisborough. This means also that the return of the Brus fee in Domesday, which excludes the lands Robert de Brus gained from Richard's estate, was compiled before 1119, when Robert used a large part of those lands to endow his new priory.

40. *Chronicon Domini Walteri de Hemingburgh*, ed. H.C. Hamilton, (English Historical Society, 1848), i, 52.
41. W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, new edition in 8 vols., (London, 1817-30), vi, 265a; W. Page ed., *Victoria County History of the County of York*, 3 vols., (London, 1907-13), iii, 209; *EYC*, ii, 28-9.
42. *Cartularium Prioratus de Gyseburne*, ed. W. Brown, (Surtees Society, 1889), 2 Vols., (Hereafter cited as *Gyseburne*), i, pp. vi-xi.
43. *Gyseburne*, i, 1-5.
44. *Gyseburne*, i, 7.
45. *EYC*, ii, 29.
46. *Gyseburne*, i, 13-14.
47. J. E. Burton, *The Origins and Development of the Religious Orders in Yorkshire c.1069-c.1200*, unpublished thesis for D.Phil., (University of York, 1977), p.97.
48. *Gyseburne*, i, ix, 1-5.
49. *EYC*, ii, 8-10.
50. *DB*, i 299v, 305, 322v; *EYC*, ii, 18-19.
51. *DB*, i, 305v.
52. *DB*, i, 305-305v; *EYC*, ii, 16-19.

POTTERY FROM RIEVAULX ABBEY

By B.G. Drummond

INTRODUCTION

In one of his many footnotes to the Rievaulx Chartulary (*Surtees Society* Vol. 83, 1887). Canon J. C. Atkinson comments on the ‘beautiful and singularly suggestive remains at Rievaulx’ that ‘what of them is still left is mouldering away year by year for want of a little fostering care and protective expenditure’ and suggests that they should ‘at least be saved from the effects of unresisted ruin and decay’. It was not until eighteen years after his death in 1900 that his hopes were fulfilled and the Abbey ruins taken into the care of the Commissioner of Works, now the Department of the Environment. During the refurbishing of the Abbey in the following decades pottery was recovered and stored on site until its subsequent transfer to Cleveland where the main collection is now in the care of the Cleveland County Archaeology Section. The collection is unstratified and cannot be attributed to particular locations in the Abbey, although there is some evidence to show that the reredorter drain and the long house, which lie true west and east respectively of the infirmary cloister, and the lay brothers’ range to the north of the main cloister are among the places from which it was recovered. The pottery is very largely glazed wares of various types and it seems likely that this reflects the choice of sherds retrieved rather than the absence of plain wares in pottery used in the Abbey. Despite the lack of direct evidence from the Abbey itself, most of the pottery can be assigned to particular wares and dates, using parallels and information from other sources.

The history of the Abbey can be divided into three broad stages. The first period embraces the 400 years from the Abbey’s foundation in 1131 by twelve Cistercian monks from Clairvaux through its rapid growth to a flourishing and influential monastery of 140 monks and some 500 lay brethren and its subsequent decline to a community of 22 monks, with about 100 servants, at the time of the Dissolution in 1538. The pottery from this period is dominated by green glazed wares, mainly large thick-walled vessels with some smaller items, from a number of sources in North and East Yorkshire.

The second phase, from the closing years of the fifteenth century to the end of the sixteenth century, sees not only major changes in the status of the Abbey but also a marked shift in the pottery traditions associated with it. While the ubiquitous green glazed ware of earlier centuries no doubt continued to be made, a new pattern emerges in the appearance of the much finer, Cistercian wares and the arrival of stonewares from the Continent.

In the final phase the continued habitation of at least some of the Abbey buildings is confirmed by the presence of seventeenth and eighteenth-century material from Staffordshire and the more local Ryedale area together with other post-medieval wares.

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

The Rievaulx Chartulary offers three potential sources of information for pottery usage or manufacture, none of which provides any direct evidence.

The inventory prepared for each room or part of the Abbey at the Dissolution lists elements of the fabric, notably roofs and windows containing lead or iron, images of saints, screens, tables, forms and other furnishings of various sorts and a few vessels. The cloister contained a ‘lavour’ of lead overcast with pewter and the brewhouse six ‘kelynge’ troughs and two ‘coper vessels’. In the abbot’s kitchen there were a ‘boylng pott’ of brass bordered

with lead and a ‘swildyng pott’ of brass and the inner and outer larder houses contained a ‘sestern’ and a trough, both of lead set in a frame of wood. Although it contains much of general interest, the inventory is primarily a list of items of value which could profitably be sold or used elsewhere and in that respect the complete absence of pottery is not surprising. An inventory of a modern establishment would, in similar circumstances, probably ignore all but the most valuable items.

Lead, brass and copper vessels were in use in the brewhouse, the abbot’s kitchen and the larders. Iron was worth collecting from windows and one might infer that the absence of iron containers from the inventory indicates that they were not in use. The small number of metal vessels included in the abbot’s kitchen and the larders and their absence from other parts of the abbey suggests that most of the containers used for storage, preparation and serving of food were either of wood or earthenware and the latter would be used for cooking. Only a very few of the sherds in the pottery assemblage show signs of sooting but, as indicated earlier, such plain wares were not recovered in any quantity. It does, however, seem likely that the scale of food preparation would require containers of a size that could only be made in metal and there may have been some special reason for their omission from the inventory.

Further scope for speculation is provided by the corrodies, or pensions in kind, given to the Abbey’s corrodians. For example, in 1534 John and Jennet Benson were granted, among other items, ten gallons of ale each week and one mess of meat served from the kitchen once a day. The containers were not, of course, of any significance in specifying corrodies and for ale and perhaps food as well were likely to have been of wood rather than pottery.

The third possible source of information is the detailing of the Abbey’s properties which comprises the main part of the Chartulary. Although fisheries, corn mills, walk mills or fulling mills and iron smithies figure occasionally and offer hope for some note of other industrial activity there appears to be no mention of potteries. Although there is some evidence for tile manufacture in Bilsdale which is likely to have some link with Rievaulx, it may well be that the Abbey did not own a pottery nor have one on its lands. It would, in any case, be unlikely to have had the same importance to the Abbey’s revenues as corn, wool or iron and might therefore not merit inclusion in the charters.

The only conclusion that can be drawn from the Chartulary is that Rievaulx is no exception to the general rule in medieval pottery studies that the written record attaches as little importance to the pottery industry as it does to the potter’s products and knowledge about them can best be obtained from the archaeological evidence.

THE POTTERY

The mode of recovery of pottery from Rievaulx suggests that the assemblage should be seen as no more than an unrepresentative sample of pottery in use in the Abbey. The relative absence of unglazed pottery clearly indicates that a full range of vessel forms is not represented. However, about 90% of the pottery, although without dating evidence from Rievaulx, can be allocated to specific production sources and periods using information from other sites. Figure 1 shows that the production sources and their wares, broadly dated, provide a continuum of pottery usage from the twelfth century through to the eighteenth century. While it will obviously remain uncertain, this continuum suggests that the main production sources supplying the Abbey are represented in the pottery assemblage. Figure 1 also shows the proportion by weight of each ware to give a simple indication of relative quantities. The preponderance of the local Hambleton and Brandsby wares compared with pottery from more distant and earlier sources in the medieval period and the dominance of Ryedale wares in the later centuries adds some credibility to the representative nature of the collection. The relatively small amount of the local Thirlby

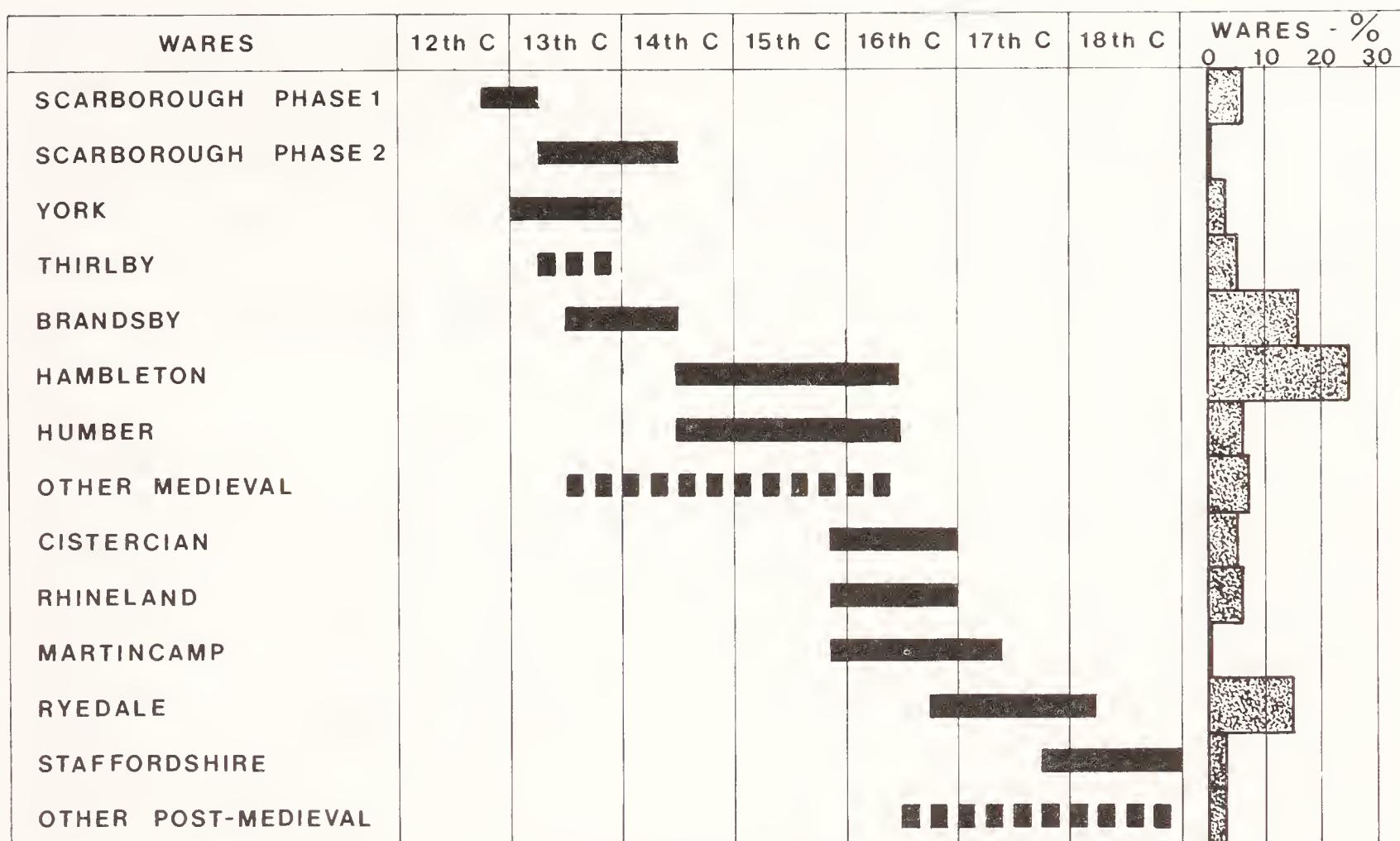


Figure 1. Approximate dates and proportions of Rievaulx pottery

wares may be because they are mostly plain wares and were not recovered in quantity. The sources of the wares from Yorkshire are shown in Figure 2.

The various wares are discussed below starting with the earliest. The figures refer to the pottery illustrations. With the exception of items 9, 14, 35, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 50, 51, 61, 83, 98, 116, which are in the Dorman Museum, Middlesbrough, all the illustrated sherds are in the care of the Cleveland County Archaeology Section.

Scarborough Ware

Scarborough ware was manufactured from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries at kilns sited within the town walls of Scarborough and excavated by P G Farmer (Farmer, 1979) between 1968 and 1975. The Scarborough kilns are notable for the high quality of their green glazed wares and the wide distribution of their products, principally to eastern Britain and the continental seaboard. The pottery at Rievaulx is largely the earlier Scarborough Phase I ware, probably of late twelfth to early thirteenth-century date, with a light red-brown fabric tempered with a scatter of quartz sand. The later, Phase II ware, was manufactured up to the mid fourteenth-century when the industry came to an end and is represented by a few sherds only.

One of the more remarkable features of the Rievaulx pottery is the presence of three vessel types new to the repertoire of Scarborough Phase I forms. The new shapes are the large bottle (1), the condiments (2) and lobed bowls (3). The bottle is glazed externally and within the neck, the condiments and lobed bowls are glazed all over including the base. The condiments are present in two and three compartment forms and are made by throwing the individual compartments and then luting them together. Fragments of seven condiments are present, of which at least two are double and one of triple form. The lobed bowl is illustrated showing the rim/base sherd from which the bowl shape is developed. Assuming the lobes continue round the rim the bowl would have eight or possibly nine lobes. The shape is confirmed by a second rim sherd showing part of two lobes from another very similar bowl. The appearance of these new forms at Rievaulx suggests that they are

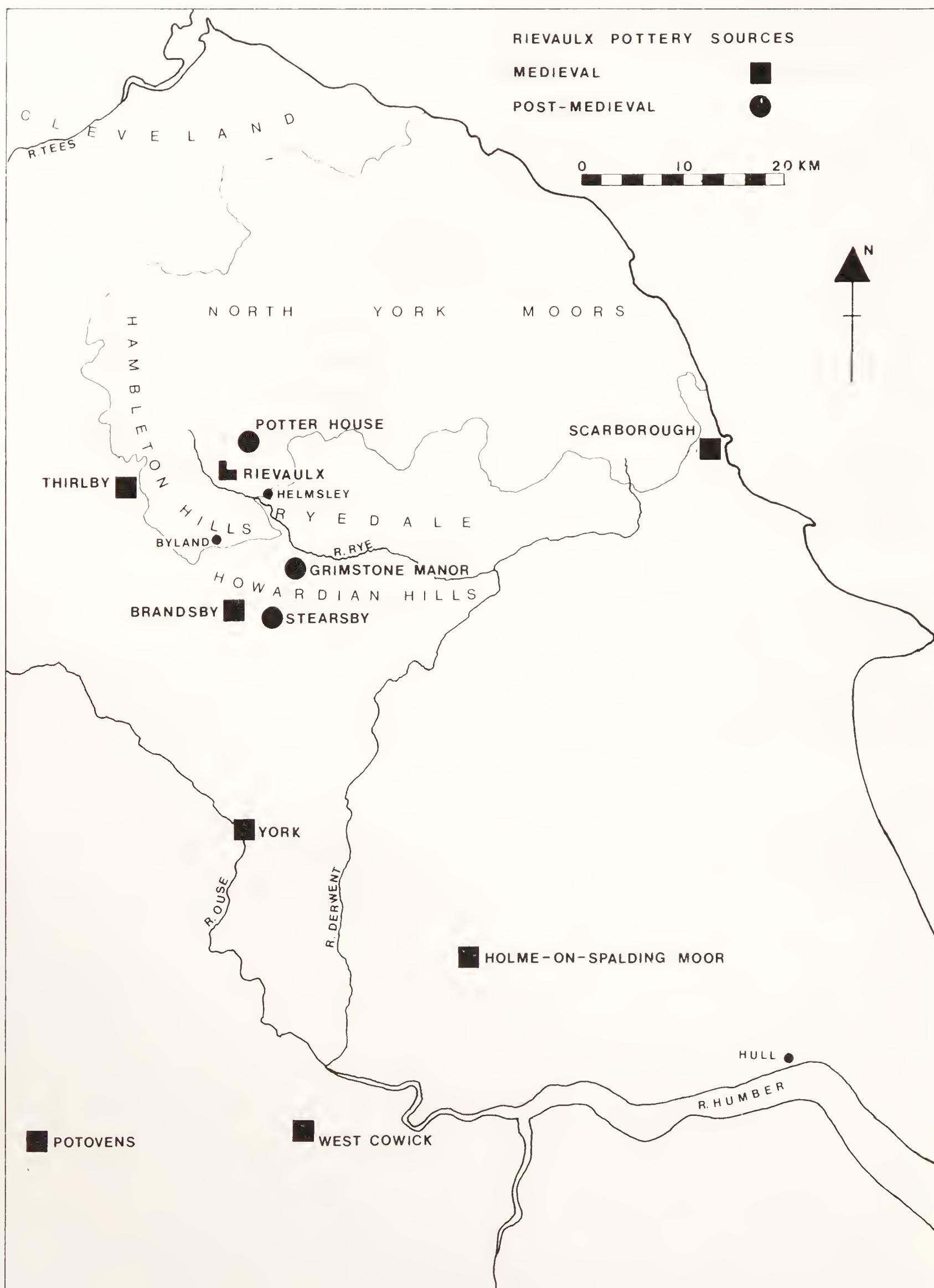


Figure 2. Sources of pottery wares at Rievaulx.

types of particular relevance to monastic or similar establishments and may have been specially made for the Abbey.

Jugs, including the well-known knight jugs, are the commonest forms of Phase I ware and are represented by rims (4, 5), bases (6, 7), a body sherd from a knight jug (8) with typical cordon decoration and a small zoomorphic fragment (9), possibly from a jug lid.

The ending of manufacture of Phase I ware in the early thirteenth-century comes shortly after the appearance of decorated pottery from York and the small amount of the later Scarborough Phase II wares may be due to a preference for the newly available material from York.

York white ware

York white ware, or York glazed ware, is identified with mainly thirteenth-century deposits in York (Holdsworth, 1978). The kiln sites are unknown but are likely to be in or near York. The fabric of the Rievaulx examples is light brown or pale grey with a variable scatter of sub-angular quartz sand. York white ware is part of the highly decorated pottery tradition which developed in the thirteenth century and this is exemplified in the Rievaulx assemblage where the pottery collected is mostly decorated body sherds with a few rod handles and bases all of types associated with York jugs. Typical styles are illustrated, including vessels with scale and line decorations (10, 11, 12), the line and pellet designs (13, 14), the thumbed base (15) and the rod handle with characteristic spurred decoration at the top of the handle (16), all with an external green glaze varying in intensity from darker green on the bodies to pale on the rod handle. The simple rouletting (17) is in a coarser York type fabric.

Thirlby ware

Thirlby lies below the scarp of the Hambleton hills some six miles west of Rievaulx. Four pottery kilns were discovered there in 1972 and one was excavated (McCrea, 1972). The excavated kiln has been reconstructed and is displayed, with its associated pottery, at the Ryedale Folk Museum, Hutton-le-Hole. The principal forms are large jugs about 35cm tall and cooking pots or jars about 25cm tall of which complete examples are on show at the Museum. Both the jugs and the jars have very thin walls, being generally less than 5mm thick. Glaze is infrequent, mainly on the outside of jugs only, and varies from pale green to amber. Decoration is rare and is mainly confined to pastry-type modelling on the rims of jars. The fabric is light brown, occasionally grey or brick-red, tempered with quartz sand and some larger inclusions. McCrea suggests a thirteenth-century date for the kilns which are all thought to be contemporary, based on kiln type, and a similar period for the pottery, but firm dating will have to await the ware's identification in datable deposits elsewhere.

With their utilitarian nature Thirlby wares present a sharp contrast to the more refined pottery from Scarborough and York and the plain jars may have been used for cooking at Rievaulx although the evidence of sooting is sparse. The illustrations show a typical jug rim (18) with external amber glaze and a base (19), rims of plain jars (20, 21, 22) and rims with characteristic modelling (23, 24). In both their rim types and their fabric the Thirlby wares have an affinity with the pottery traditions associated with the Tees Valley wares found in Cleveland both north and south of the River Tees (Barrett, 1985).

Brandsby ware

The kiln site at Brandsby, on the southern flank of the Howardian Hills and roughly half way between Rievaulx and York, was excavated in the early 1970s (Le Patourel, 1973). The pottery fabric is generally oxidized and pale buff in colour, containing a scatter of sub-angular quartz sand and some larger inclusions; occasionally the fabric is reduced and pale

or dark grey. The glaze is pale apple green mottled with darker greens and usually on the outer surfaces only. Brandsby ware has been described from York (Le Patourel, 1972 and Holdsworth, 1978) and Wharram Percy (Hayfield, 1979) where it is found in thirteenth and fourteenth-century contexts.

Brandsby type wares are represented at Rievaulx by large jars (25, 26, 27), jugs with rod handles (28, 29, 30, 31), the neck and shoulders of a large vessel decorated with horizontal wavy lines and stepped features (32) and a number of bases, mostly plain and sagging but with the odd example of intermittent thumbbed decoration. More specialised items are the urinal with a single handle (33), very similar to a Hambleton ware example found at Wharram Percy, the sauce dish (34) glazed on the inside only and the rim of a watering pot (35), showing the small hole at the top from which the water flow was controlled by the thumb when the pot was inverted. Of particular interest, bearing in mind the two Scarborough ware condiments mentioned earlier, are two sherds from rather larger and more roughly made two-compartment condiments. One of these is illustrated (36),

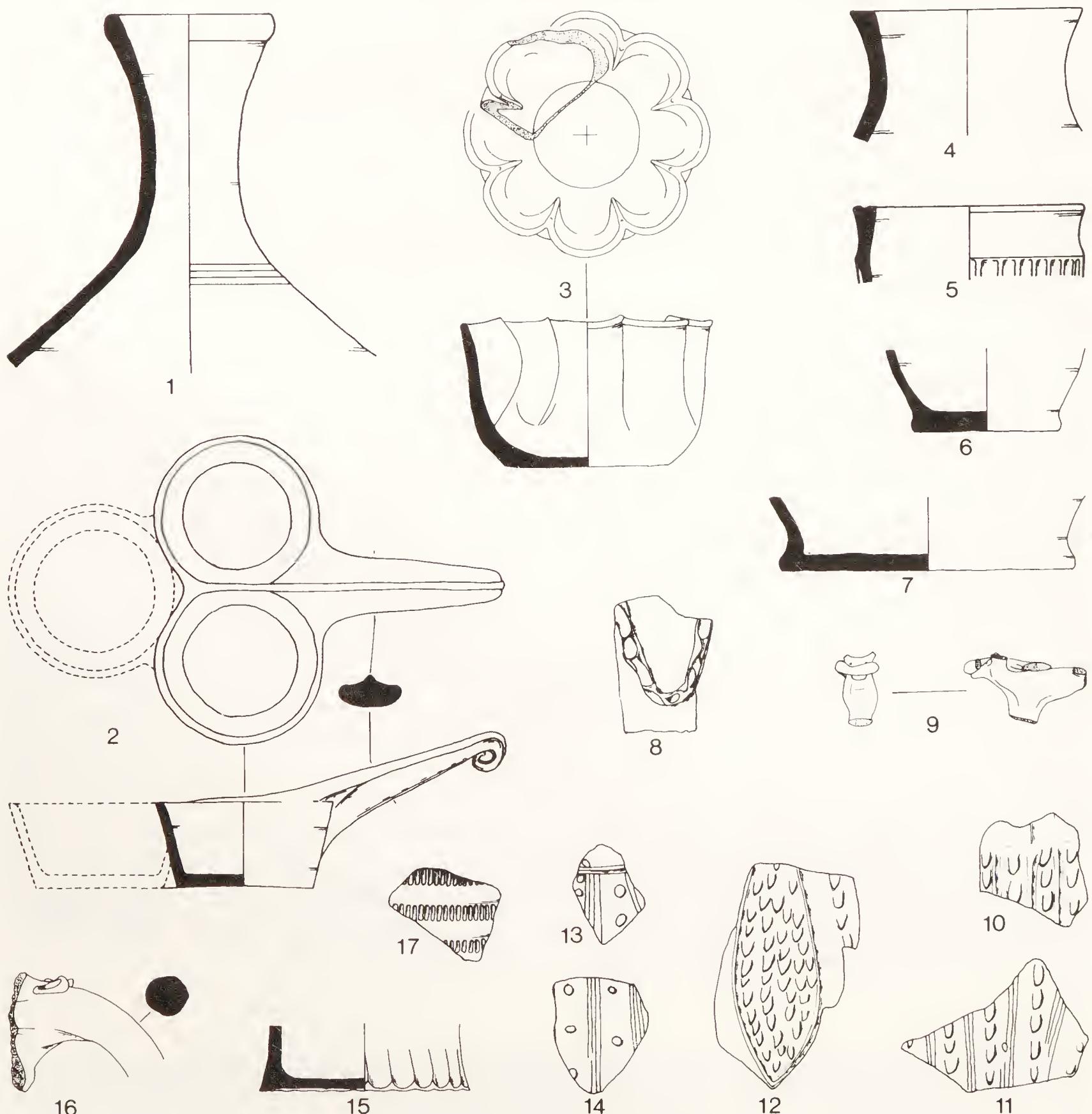


Figure 3. Scarborough ware 1 - 9; York white ware 10 - 17. scale 1:4



Figure 4. Thirlby ware 18 - 24; Brandsby ware 25 - 36. Scale 1:4

showing the sherd from which the shape is developed. These examples may be copies of the earlier Scarborough condiments and were presumably made for the same purpose.

Hambleton ware

The source of Hambleton ware, sometimes called Rievaulx ware, is unknown but its occurrence at Rievaulx, Byland and Helmsley suggests a kiln site somewhere within that general area. Hambleton ware also occurs at York and Wharram Percy and is associated with later fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth-century contexts. The fine-grained fabric is normally reduced and dark grey, oxidizing to pale grey or infrequently buff. The green glaze varies in shade from dark to light and is mostly confined to the external surfaces.

The vessels are generally large and thick-walled and are typified by bung-hole cisterns and large jugs. The cisterns (37) have a capacity of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ gallons (11.5 litres) and the four bung-holes in the collection have a bore of 1 inch (2.5cm) diameter suggesting manufacture for a standard bung or spigot, and perhaps a standard capacity of $2\frac{1}{2}$ gallons with $\frac{1}{4}$ gallon below the bung-hole to collect sediment. Except for the jugs, rims of the larger Hambleton vessels are not present in the Rievaulx assemblage and it is worth illustrating two such rims (50, 51) from the neighbouring Cistercian House at Byland.

The commonest form of large jugs (38), also found at Wharram Percy (*ibid.*), has a similar capacity to the cisterns and are decorated with incised horizontal lines at the shoulder. The stamped anthropomorphic face mask (39) comes from this type of jug as probably do 40 and 41. They are made with different stamps but all show a stylised human face apparently surrounded by tresses of hair, a curious motif to find in a monastic community. In contrast to these stamped masks are the applied faces in the cartoon (42) and the human face (43), possibly in a cowl, which are both associated with the incised lines found on these jugs. The jugs have strap handles either plain, grooved (38, 44, 45) or with more elaborate modelling (46). Other handles are shown in 47, 48 and 49. An odd feature of the handles (44, 45, 46) is the offset nature of their connection to the rim, possibly associated with the handles being curved as 49.

Hambleton ware jugs are also represented by a range of rims with strap handles (52, 53, 54, 55) and some rim fragments without handles (56, 57, 58, 59, 60) of which one (60) has applied thumbed decoration. Vessel bases are generally plain and sagging as in the cistern but variants with thumbed decoration exist and are shown in 61 and 62.

Smaller items are infrequent and are illustrated by the cup (63) glazed both internally and externally and by the rather problematic sherds (65, 66) also glazed on both sides and with stamped rosettes and crosses on their upper surfaces. Similar decorated bases have occurred at York where they have been identified with lobed bowls or cups, sometimes with a central free-standing human or animal figure (C. Brooks - pers. comm.). The bung or stopper (64) in a Hambleton-type ware and in a rather abraded condition is too large for the cistern bung holes but may have been used to stop bottles similar to the one from Scarborough (1).

Humber wares

The main Yorkshire production sites are at West Cowick (Mayes, 1964), and Holme-on-Spalding Moor (Mayes and Hayfield, 1980) and the wares are distributed widely in the Humber area generally in later fourteenth, fifteenth and early sixteenth-century contexts. Fabrics vary from a red-brown to dark grey with some quartz tempering. The larger Humber ware vessels are sparsely represented at Rievaulx, a jug rim with brown-green glaze and grey fabric is illustrated (67), and it is probable that the demand for such vessels could be readily satisfied from the more local Hambleton pottery. On the other hand the local kilns do not seem to manufacture the smaller jugs, or large drinking pots, of the kind typified by the Skipton-on-Swale pots so called after one found there with a coin hoard,

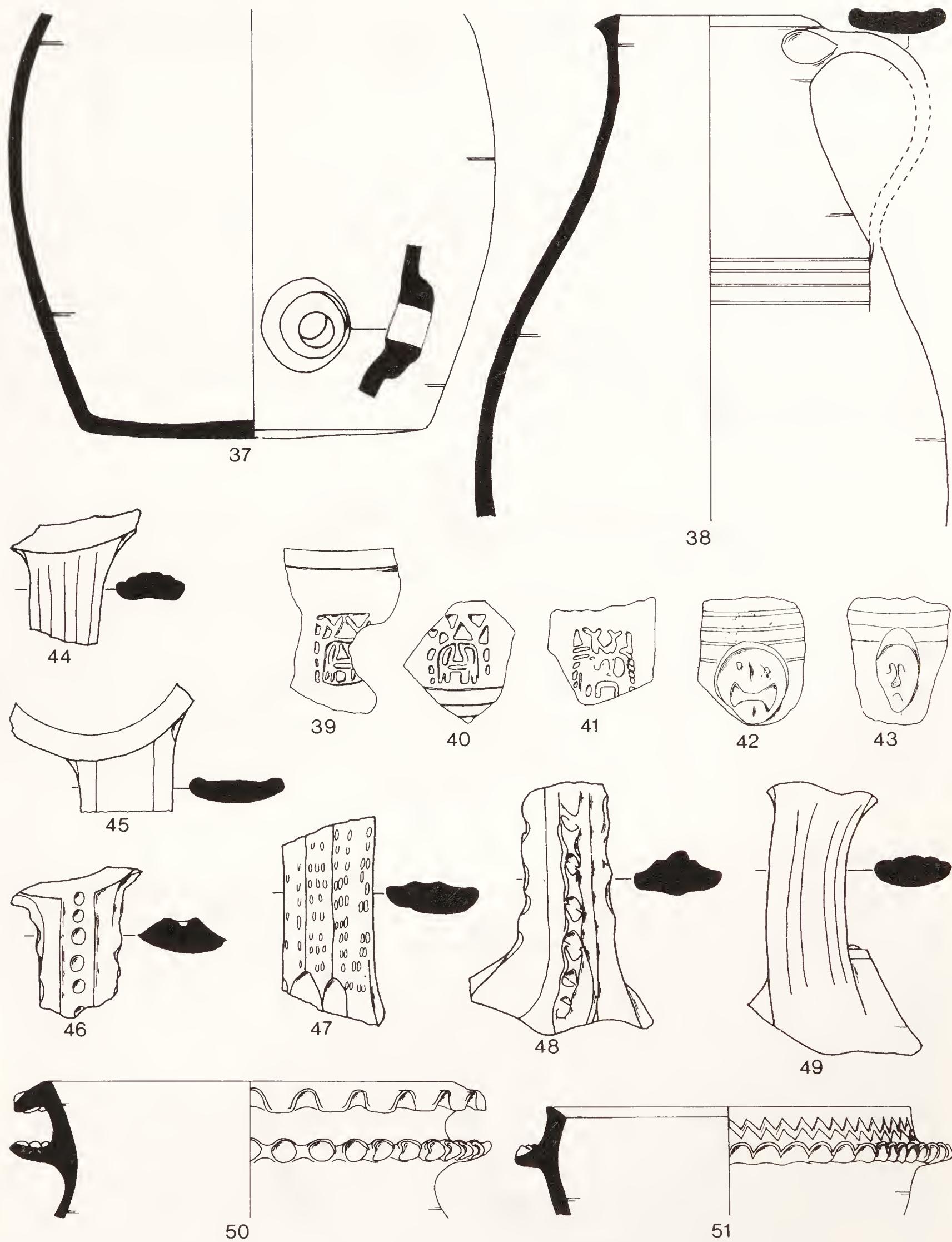


Figure 5. Hambleton ware 37 - 51. Scale 1:4

with the latest coin dated 1399 (Thompson, 1956). There are some twenty bases of these drinking pots in the Rievaulx assemblage together with a few rims (68, 69, 70, 71, 72), mostly plain but with some bases splashed with green or brown glaze and all in a fine reddish fabric. The only other forms are two bottles (73, 74) with external brown-green glaze and dark grey fabric.

Other Medieval wares

Among the sherds which are more difficult to allocate to pottery sources are a number which are worth illustrating. The green-glazed face mask (75) in a fine grained pale buff fabric has some similarity to the mask (43) from a Hambleton jug but is from a much smaller vessel. Three items with the sort of gritty fabric encountered in some wares from Cleveland are the plain jug (76) and the small jars (77, 78), with a mottled green to brown glaze on the outside. The jug (79), green-glazed inside and out, appears to have a white slip underlying the glaze and has a reddish buff fabric with quartz temper. The applied green-glazed badge (135) with incised decoration is in a fine grained reddish fabric. Three perforated rims are illustrated in 81, 82, and 83.

Cistercian ware

Cistercian wares are principally associated with sixteenth-century deposits. The finely made small cups and beakers, usually with two or more handles, in a well-fired red fabric with a good dark brown glaze inside and out, is a sharp departure from the wares of earlier centuries. Cistercian ware was first noted in monastic contexts by Micklethwaite (1893). Kiln sites have been discovered at Potterton (Mayes and Pirie, 1966) and Potovens (Brears, 1967) and Brears (1971, 19-23) has described a series of eighteen types. Few types in the Brears series can be clearly identified in the small amount of Cistercian ware at Rievaulx. The illustrations show a posset cup and lid with typical cream slip decoration (84, 85, 86, Brears type 1), a beaker rim (89, Brears type 3), a cup with one or possibly two handles with cream slip decoration (87) and a typical base (88), and other cup rims (90, 91).

Continental stonewares

Stonewares from the Rhineland potteries in the Cologne area were imported into Hull and Norwich in quantity during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and those from Norwich have been extensively described by Jennings (1981). While there is some difficulty in ascribing individual items to specific sources, the stonewares at Rievaulx appear to come from potteries at Raeren or Aachen and from Cologne or Frechen. Both the Raeren/Aachen and the Cologne/Frechen wares have a grey fabric and are salt glazed, leaving a light grey external surface sometimes coloured brown by an iron wash. The commoner forms of Raeren/Aachen products are mugs with strap handles and frilled bases (92, 93, 94, 95, 96) which may have replaced the Humber ware drinking pots at Rievaulx. Bellarmines, stoneware bottles with a bearded face mask said to be of Cardinal Bellarmine on the neck and a medallion on the body, from the Cologne/Frechen potteries, are represented by a base (97) and by part of a medallion, identical to Jennings (1981) Fig. 50-823. Also present at Rievaulx are a few sherds of the mottled brown salt glaze known as tiger ware and typical of bellarmines of the later sixteenth century,

In addition to the pottery from the Rhineland, stoneware flasks were imported during the same period from Martincamp, near Dieppe in Northern France. They are represented by one sherd only (98) of the neck of a flask in grey stoneware. The fabric suggests it is from a Type II flask of sixteenth-century date (Hurst, 1966 and 1977).

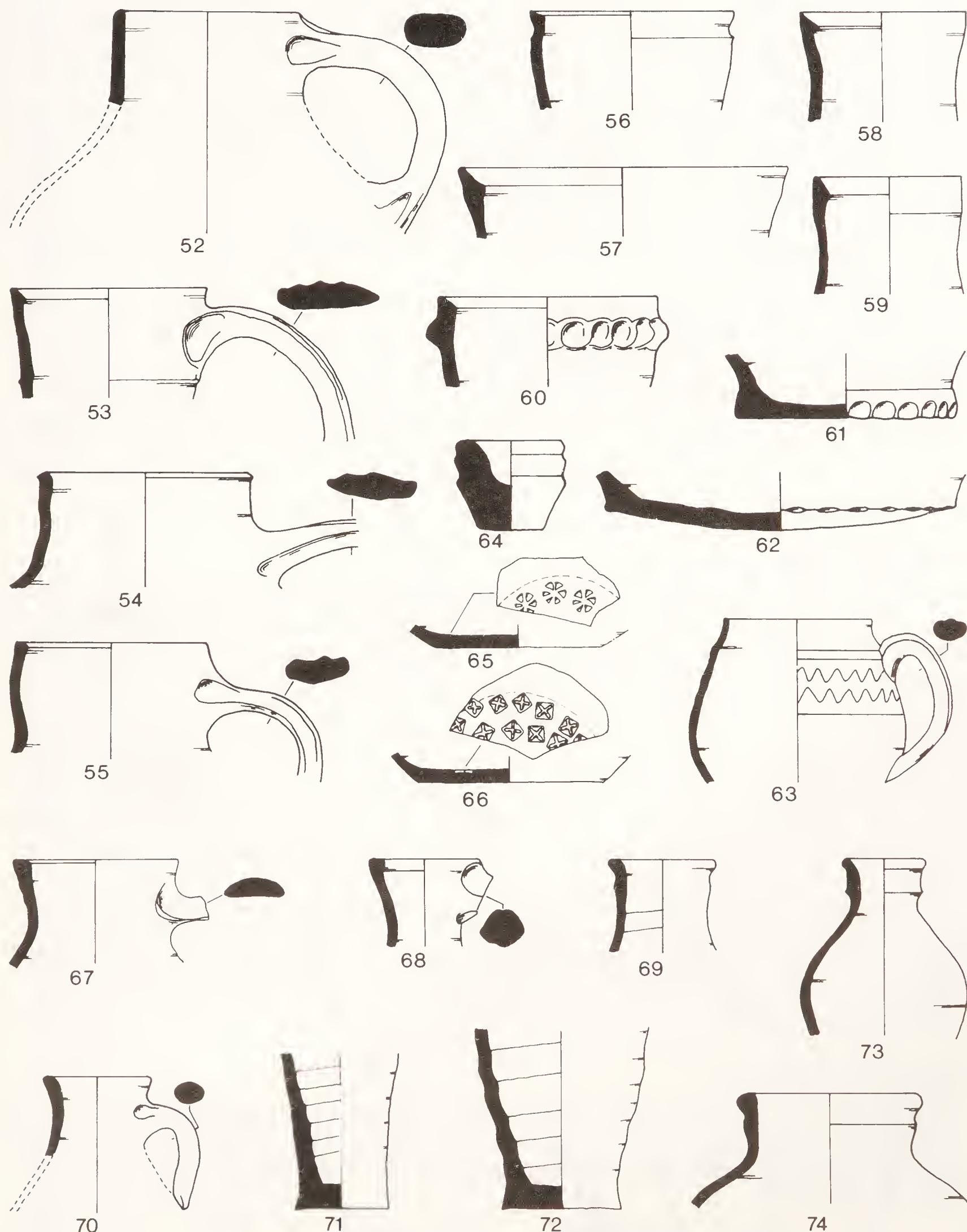


Figure 6. Hambleton ware 52 - 66: Humber ware 67 - 74. Scale 1:4

Ryedale wares

There are a number of known kiln sites and possible kiln sites in lower Ryedale and the Howardian Hills area (Hayes, 1978) at least three of which, Grimstone Manor Farm (near Gilling East). Stearsby (near Brandsby) and Potter House (north of Helmsley), were producing very similar pottery, typically bung-hole jars or cisterns, jugs, bowls, tripod pipkins and dishes or platters. Ryedale wares have been found in Hull and York (Brooks, 1987) where they are associated with late sixteenth and seventeenth-century contexts and appear to replace Humber and Hambleton-type wares and in early eighteenth-century contexts at Kirkgate, Bridlington (Earnshaw and Watkins, 1984). The fabric of the Rievaulx examples is fine grained, occasionally with quartz tempering, reduced or oxidized to a light red or brown. Glazes vary from dark to pale green shading to light brown or yellow. Some of the jars and most of the bowls and platters have a pale slightly lustrous green glaze.

The jar or cistern rims (99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104) are all glazed on the inside only. Straight sided bowls in a range of sizes are shown in 105, 106, 107, 108, 109 and bases in 110, 111, 112. The horizontal handle to bowls (107) is a characteristic feature of Ryedale wares. Platters, glazed inside are shown in 113, 114, 115, and a tripod pipkin in 116. The Rievaulx examples of Ryedale ware are undecorated and it is interesting to note that they are almost invariably glazed internally in contrast to the medieval wares, where the glaze is generally on the outer surface only, perhaps reflecting a desire for ease of cleaning rather than visual appeal.

Staffordshire Slipwares

Manufacture of slipwares in Staffordshire began in the late seventeenth and continued through the eighteenth century. The fabric is cream or buff in colour and is decorated with a combination of white and dark brown clay slips, shading to tan where it blends with the white. When glazed the effect is one of brown decoration on a cream background (118 to 124) or the reverse (117). Both cups and flatwares, shallow bowls or dishes, are present at Rievaulx. Of the cups 117 has a brown slip background with white decoration piped on, 118 has a simple wavy decoration of brown slip, 119 has a combed and roughly marbled brown slip, both on a cream background. All three cups are glazed inside and out.

The flatwares were made by pressing rolled out slabs of clay over different shapes and sizes of mould and trimming the edges which were then modelled to give a piecrust effect. The moulds were either plain (120) or with inner rings (121, 122, 123, 124) and inner circles (123) embossed on the surface of the mould. The background white slip is enhanced by either combed decoration in brown slip (126) or by piped additions of brown slip generally as rather crude circular blobs (123, 124), lines (120), or other freehand shapes (121). The flatwares are slipped and glazed internally only, the glazing stopping short of the pie-crust rims.

Other Post-medieval wares

In addition to the post-medieval wares described above there is a range of coarse red wares with a good green or brown glaze for which sources have not been identified. They are mostly jars and bowls and typical examples are illustrated in 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131 and 132.

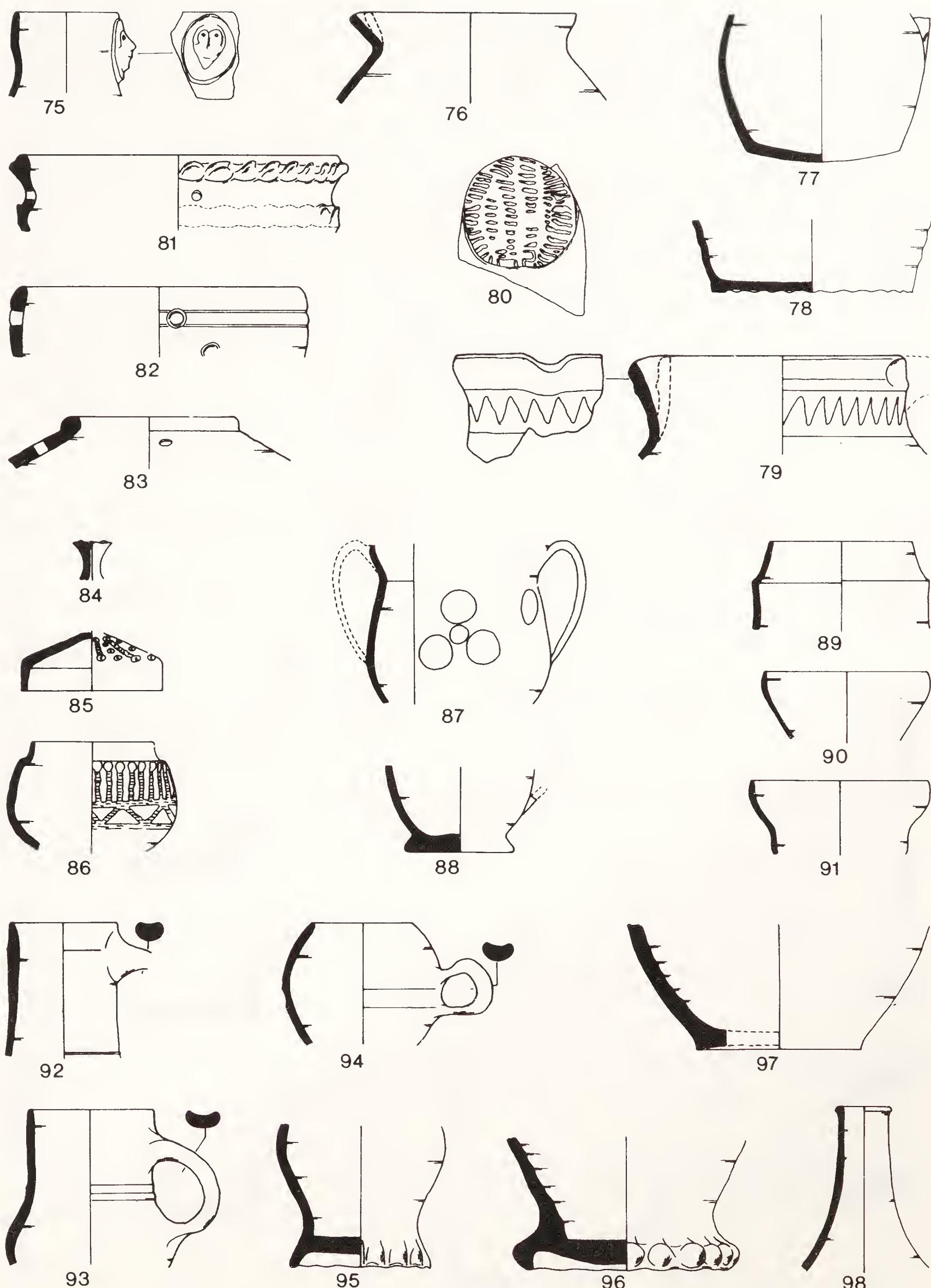


Figure 7. Other Medieval ware 75 - 83; Cistercian ware 84 - 91; Continental stoneware 92 - 98. Scale 1:4

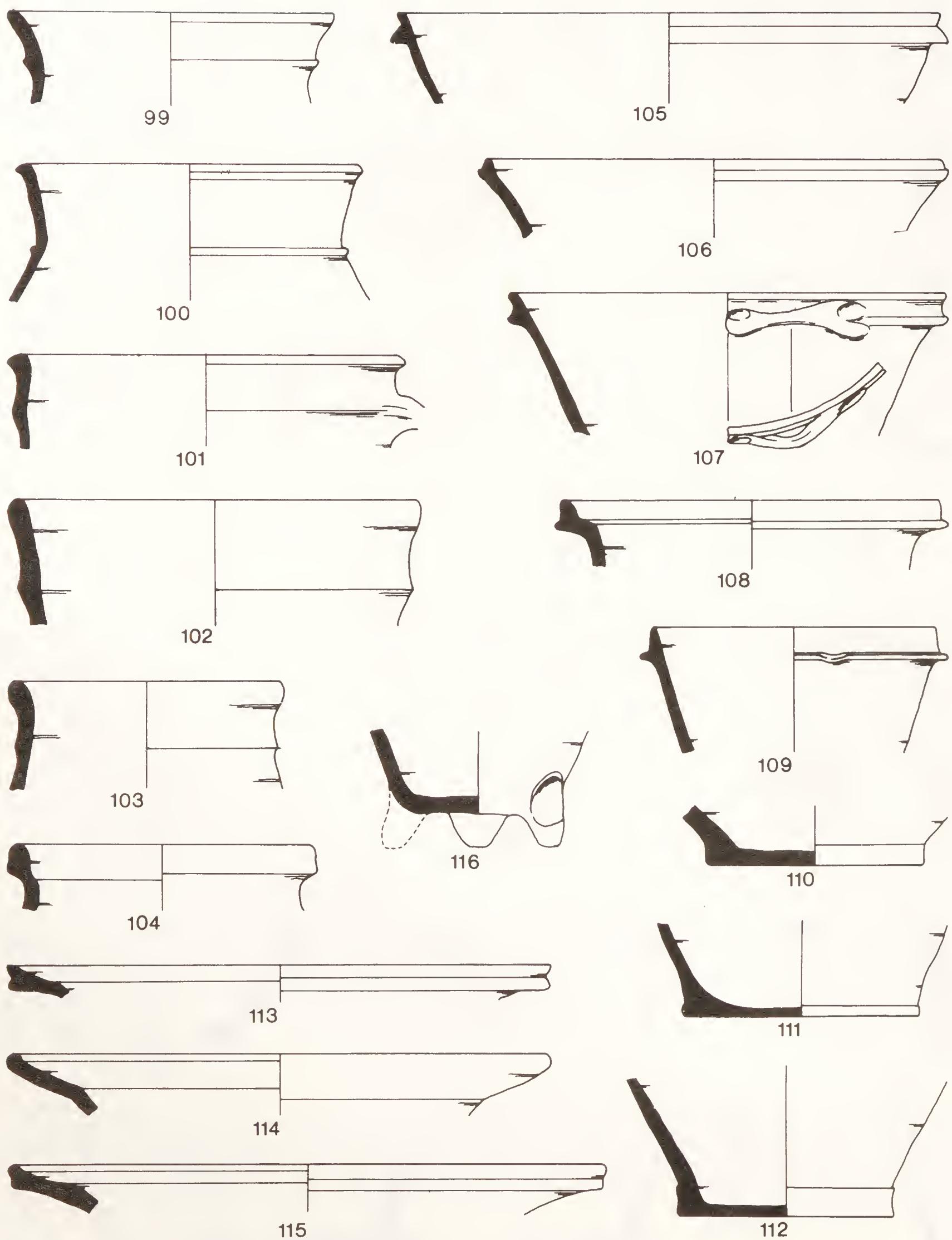


Figure 8.Ryedale ware 99 - 112. Scale 1:4

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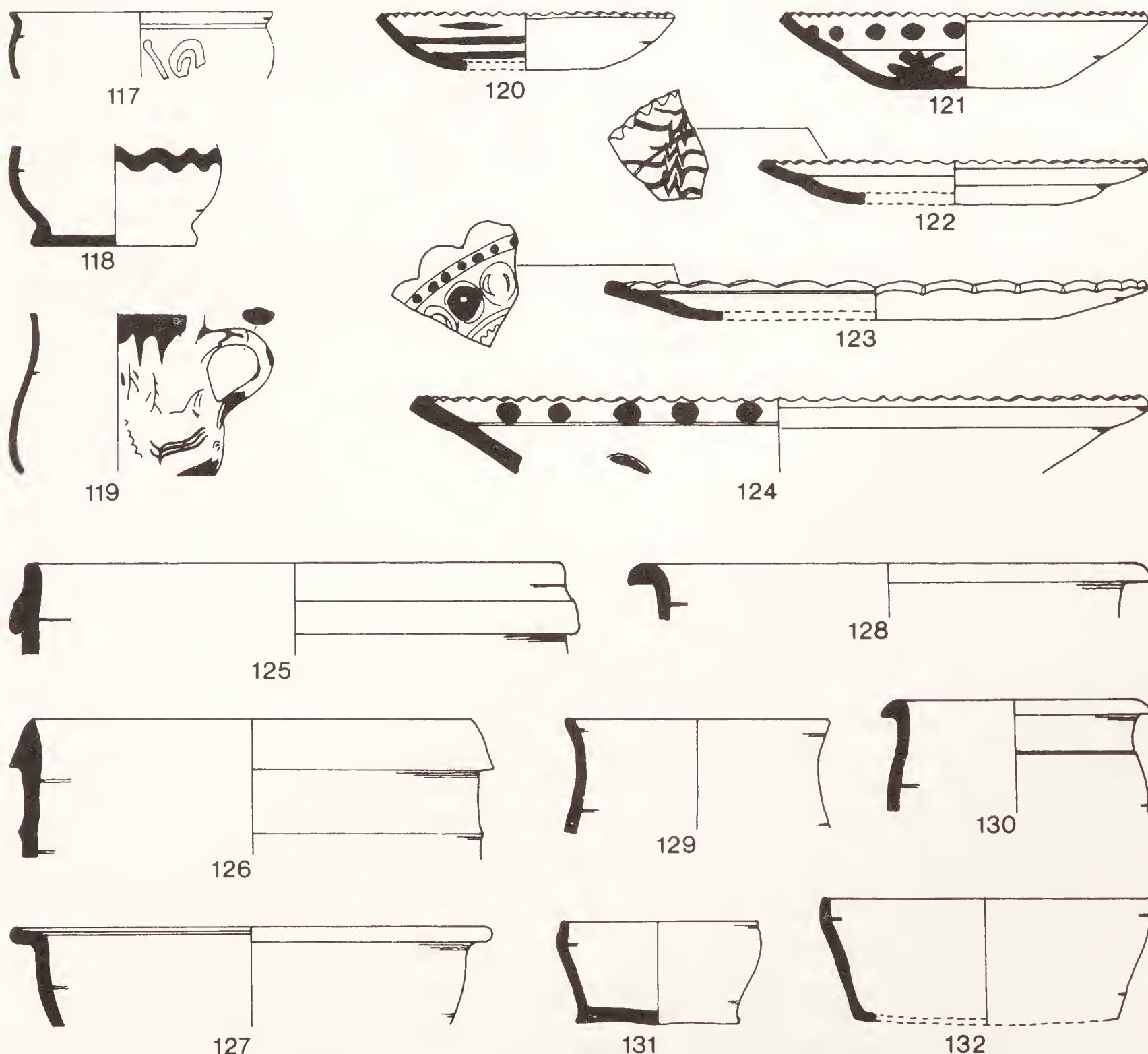


Figure 9. Staffordshire slipware 117 - 124: Other post-medieval ware 125 - 132. Scale 1:4

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ARCHIEPISCOPAL RELATIONS WITH THE CLERGY OF THE DIOCESE OF YORK 1279-99

By G. M. Hallas

INTRODUCTION

The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 had marked the climax of the pontificate of Pope Innocent III in his attempt to bring about a great spiritual revival of Christendom. Its decrees had provided the archbishops and bishops of Europe with an extensive and far reaching reform programme, which, being issued by the Pope in Council, had the full force of law. It was followed by other councils, notably, in 1274, the Second Council of Lyons, of Pope Gregory X, which declared pluralists excommunicate and laid stress on the idea of preaching a Crusade. Since the Fourth Lateran Council the papal legates Otto and Ottobon had been active in the application of these and further decrees to England, and apathy among the bishops was strongly criticised.¹ This article therefore attempts to examine the dealings of the Archbishops of York with the clergy of their diocese in the latter part of the thirteenth century, in the light of the papal enactments. It is clear from the evidence in the archiepiscopal registers that in their management of both the secular and regular clergy from 1279-99 there were certainly two archbishops who made considerable effort to enforce the reforming legislation of the Papacy.

The worst evils in the medieval Church, against which the archbishops' campaign was primarily, if not exclusively directed, were those of non-residence and pluralism, against which there had first been strictures in the fifth century, at the Council of Chalcedon. By the mid-thirteenth century it was unlikely that any attempt to undermine this system could be more than superficial because it was so much an integral part of both national and international politics. It was the accepted practice that government officials should receive benefices and prebends in payment for their services to Church and State, which were in thirteenth-century England to a great extent different parts of one organisation. This basic situation largely defeated attempts at reform, and eluded the efforts of the Papacy to unite Europe into a revived and centralised Christendom.² Nevertheless, Archbishops William Wickwane from 1279-85 and John le Romeyn from 1285-1296, spared no effort in trying to put into practice the papal policies and reforming decrees on the subjects of pluralism and non-residence and also on such matters as clerical immorality and lack of educational qualifications. In this they contrasted with their successor, Archbishop Henry Newark, who had risen to high office in the King's service and failed to emulate their work in the three years of his archiepiscopate from 1296-99. The first two archbishops followed the example of Bishop Grosseteste of Lincoln, 1175-1253, and the inspiration of the Gregorian

1. M. Gibbs and J Lang, *Bishops and Reform* (Oxford, 1934), pp. 160, 168, 170.

J.V. Bullard and H.C. Bell, *Provinciale*, ed. W. Lyndwood, pp. 33, 35.

2. On pluralism see A Hamilton-Thompson, 'Pluralism in the Medieval Church', *Associated Architectural Societies' Reports and Papers* (1915-22), pp. 33, 34, 37.

J.C. Dickinson, *The Later Middle Ages; An Ecclesiastical History of England* (Black, 1979), pp. 266-70.

reform movement of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.³ Their work also complemented that of Archbishop Pecham in the southern province⁴, and continued that of their predecessor Archbishop Walter Gray 1215-55, who had personally attended the Fourth Lateran Council and later the Council of London in 1237, when the legate, Otto, had announced his Constitutions. There is evidence that Archbishop Gray had attempted to put some of these decrees and dictates into practice during his exceptionally long episcopate; from 1215-55; issuing statutes in 1250; though he was often absent on the King's service and at public ceremonials and he owed his position to royal preferment.⁵

Walter Giffard, Archbishop of York, 1266-79, had been at the Council of Lyons in 1274. He had previously combined the post of Bishop of Bath and Wells with that of Lord Chancellor of England and even after consecration as Archbishop of York still retained office as a member of the royal council, which necessitated frequent and prolonged absences from the diocese. He was appointed a regent on the death of Henry III, from 1272-4. He also set a bad example by conferring the archdeaconry of York on this brother, Godfrey Giffard, later Bishop of Worcester, who was only in minor orders, and also in possession of many other benefices. It is therefore not surprising that he was unsuccessful in his attempts to deprive notorious pluralists in the diocese, such as Bogo de Clare, John Clarell and William Percy of any of their livings. No registers exist for Archbishops Sewal de Bovill, 1256-1258, and Godfrey de Ludham, 1258-64, though there is evidence in Archbishop Giffard's register that Archbishop Ludham had visited Newstead and Newburgh priories. There is also in existence a tract addressed to his priests by Sewal de Bovill, who had a reputation for holiness. Archbishop Giffard made an examination of letters of ordination and ordination candidates, ordered collection boxes for the Crusade to be put in the churches, and gave financial assistance to the friars.

The disorganised and unsystematic state of Archbishop Walter Giffard's register makes his policies unclear, in contrast with the careful and logical arrangement of that of Archbishop John le Romeyn, which became a model for his successors, including precedents to be used for drafting various kinds of documents and letters.⁶

3. See Robert Grosseteste, *Epistolae*, ed. H.R. Luard R(olls) S(eries) (1882). F.S. Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln* (Macmillan, 1899). *The Register of Robert Grosseteste*, ed. F.N. Davis, Canterbury and York Society, X (1913). *Robert Grosseteste, Bishop and Scholar*, ed. D. Callus (Oxford, 1955). James McEvoy, *The Philosophy of Robert Grosseteste* (Oxford, 1982). Other reformers included Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1207-28, Richard le Poore, Bishop of Salisbury, 1217-28, Alexander Stavensby and Roger Weseham, Bishops of Coventry and Lichfield, 1224-38 and 1245-56, William of Blois and Walter de Cantilupe, Bishops of Worcester 1218-36 and 1236-66, Simon of Ghent, Bishop of Salisbury, 1297-1315, Peter Quivil, Bishop of Exeter, 1280-91 and Thomas de Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford, 1275-82. See D.L. Douie, *Archbishop Pecham* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 133-4. J.R.H. Moorman, *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1946), pp. 236-8. Gibbs and Lang, *Bishops and Reform*, pp. 28, 29. D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England* (Cambridge 1962), I, 4.

4. For Archbishop Pecham's campaign against pluralism in the southern province see Douie, *Archbishop Pecham*, pp. 98-111. For the lives of Archbishops Wickwane, Romeyn and Newark see G.M. Hallas, 'The Archbishops and Province of York, 1279-99' (unpub. M.Phil. thesis, Leeds Univ. 1969), pp. 27-49.

5. *The Register of Archbishop Walter Gray*, ed. J. Raine, S(urtees) S(ociety) (1872), pp. 217-20, 3, 15, 29, 32, 84, 85, 86, 153, 158, 159, 151, 176, 214, I-XXII. Gibbs and Lang, *Bishops and Reform*, p. 170. Moorman, *Church Life in England*, p. 167. Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, p. 373.

6. Archbishop Giffard was also harassed by an increasing debt. This was partly inherited and partly due to the state of the national economy but it has been stated that it was also caused by his own household expenses and lavish gifts to his family and friends. He himself stated that it was due to the difficulty of collecting tithes and the expense of attending Parliament. *The Register of Archbishop Walter Giffard*, ed. W. Brown, SS. (1907), pp. ii-XVII, 145, 204, 212, 155, 213, 216, 302, 319, 324, 328, 277, 328. Knowles, *The Religious Orders*, I, 97. W.H. Dixon, *Fasti Eborances*, ed. J. Raine (Longmans, 1863), I, 313-14, 323-4. *The Register of Archbishops John le Romeyn and Henry Newark*, SS. (1931), ed. W. Brown, II, 179-90. Moorman, *Church Life in England*, pp. 181, 204, 296, 371, 223, 198, 124, 179, 194.

PLURALISM

The main obstacle to the reform of the secular clergy by Archbishops Wickwane and Romeyn was that they had relatively little control over the original appointments to benefices. They presented in the diocese of York to only six benefices by right. These included Carlton in Lindrick, Nottinghamshire, Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York, Otley, Walkington and Wheldrake, although they also appointed to a few vicarages, especially those newly instituted and they made twenty-five collations ‘by lapse of time and the authority of the Council of London or Lyons’. They did have the ultimate right of refusing a presentee if they considered him to be unsuitable but presentations were usually made by the archbishop only when the patron had either died or allowed too much time to elapse before choosing another incumbent.⁷ The archbishop’s lack of control over the original appointments obviously made his task of implementing the decrees of the councils more difficult. The pluralists and non-residents in the employ of the government who gained benefices were more likely to put the interests of the State before those of the Church.

The most notorious example of a pluralist and non-resident in the diocese of York was Bogo de Clare, son of the earl of Gloucester and Hertford, and Treasurer of York, with his twenty-four parish churches, including Settrington, Acaster-Malbis, Hemingbrough, Pickhill, a moiety of Doncaster and the disputed and rich living of Adlingfleet. There was a long and acrimonious quarrel over Adlingfleet, his first living, to which he had been presented by his mother, the Countess of Gloucester, before it was eventually relinquished. The large income which he obtained from his preferments enabled him to live an extravagant life of ease and luxury but always beyond his income, with an inordinately large household including Adam the harper, a champion, Thomas de Bruges, and on occasions four champions and a troupe of professional actors. Archbishop Pecham complained of the way in which he neglected his parishes, ‘as a robber rather than a rector’, and the southern primate received a letter from Archbishop Wickwane in 1290 telling him of the benefices which Bogo held in the province of York and saying that his alleged privilege for non-residence was not shown and he could say nothing as to his morals as Bogo was rarely in the North. The Dean and Chapter of York remonstrated with him for his neglect of his duty as treasurer, stating that the vestments were not repaired, the books were falling to pieces, the bells and clocks were without cords; and that books, palls and other ornaments were given to women. There were also expeditions at night into the city and quarrels among his servants.⁸

Another well known pluralist was Walter Langton, Keeper of the Wardrobe, who, in 1290, was granted dispensation to retain his churches for five years without being ordained priest.⁹

7. *The Register of Archbishop William Wickwane*, ed. W. Brown, SS. (1907), pp. 29, 36, 43, 45, 69, 21, 108, 113, 119, 222, 126, 289.

Reg. Romeyn, I, 60-62, 84-85, 115, 168, 253, 285, 286, 300, 320, 340, 383, 236, 170, 116, 124, 332.

Ibid., II, 41, 60.

8. *Reg. Wickwane*, pp. 255, 287. *Reg. Romeyn*, I, 63, 74, 91-93, 397.

M. Guiseppi, ed., ‘The Wardrobe and Household Accounts of Bogo de Clare, 1284-6’, *Archaeologia*, XX, 1-56.

Registrum epistolarum Johannis Pecham archiepiscopi Cantuarensis, ed. C. Trice Martin, R S. (1882-5), I, 371-2.

Moorman, *Church Life in England*, pp. 26, 27, 202, 29, 136.

9. The C(alendar) of P(apal) Registers, Papal L(etters), 1198-1304, I, 519, 525, 550. Other examples of pluralists included John de Langton, Chancellor of England, Sir William de Estdene, Treasurer of the Exchequer, Sir Richard de Olram, Baron of the Exchequer, Master Thomas de Sodington, King’s Justice, Adam de Blyth, Exchequer clerk, Master William de Burgh, Treasurer of the Wardrobe, Sir William de Hamilton and Robert Bardelby, Keepers of the Great Seal. John de Etton, Clerk of the Privy Seal, Sir Hugh Cave, a Justice in Eyre, Ralph de Neville, who went to Wales on the King’s behalf and Master

The pluralists undoubtedly regarded their livings as a financial investment and there were frequent quarrels over the possession of a benefice. A notable example of this was the argument over North Ferriby church, which lasted from May to September 1280. When William de Clyf was presented to that living by Lady Agnes de Vescy he was prevented from entering it by Richard de Vescy, who considered that he had a prior claim and had with his confederates fortified the church like a military castle. Vescy and his supporters were excommunicated but the case was not brought to a conclusion until Archbishop Wickwane had written to the King requesting that the laymen who had joined in the argument should be imprisoned and also to the sheriff of Yorkshire for help in expelling them from the church.¹⁰

The inadequate remuneration which many of the livings provided was undoubtedly a contributory cause of pluralism in the diocese. The deduction of expenses for the maintenance of the church, relief of the poor, royal taxation, synodals and procurations meant that only the richer livings could provide an adequate source of income for their often celebrated incumbents.

Pluralism, non-residence and the system of patronage led to further problems which hindered the pastoral care and cure of souls in the diocese. Most serious of these was lack of appropriate ordination or even lack of qualifications for ordination.¹¹ Some were lacking in educational qualifications or personal qualifications; were for instance under the age of twenty-five, illegitimate, guilty of immorality or suffering from ill-health, or of inefficiency caused by declining years.¹²

This then was the situation which the archbishops tried to reform, and the most important method was by archiepiscopal visitation and correction. Archbishops Wickwane and Romeyn were energetic in the personal visitation of every area in the diocese including the archdeaconry of Richmond, which had in the past considered itself virtually independent from the archbishop's authority.¹³ The registers contain a large number of references to such visitations, aimed at improving both the morals and efficiency of the clergy and the pastoral care of the laity. The earlier reforming bishops of the thirteenth century had also used visitation as a method of reform, believing that a religious revival following the Fourth Lateran Council depended on, in the words of D.L. Douie 'the full participation of both clergy and laity in the sacramental life of the Church and their thorough understanding of the elementary truths of the Christian faith'. Bishop Grosseteste had hoped to use visitation to improve the standards and efficiency of both the secular and monastic clergy and Archbishop Pecham also made extensive visitations and preached

Robert de Ros, who went abroad and to Scotland for the King. *Reg. Wickwane*, pp. 32, 70, 113, 222, 329. *Reg. Newark*, p. 329.

C(alendar of) P(atent) R(olls), 1281-92, pp. 61, 258, 507, 273, 240, 433, 31. T.F. Tout, *Chapters in Administrative History* (Manchester, 1920), V, 65, 77, 111. II, 142, 171, 69, 218, 65 VI, 7-10, 224. *Reg. Romeyn*, I, 98, 102, 109, 110, 112, 117, 172, 206, 236, 271, 327. II, 38, 160. *Reg. Newark*, p. 320. *CPR*. 1281-92, pp. 56, 393, 350, 405, 90, 126, 387, 296, 323, 241, 198, 305, 334. *CPR*. 1292-1301, p. 334.

For comparison see J.L. Grassi, 'Royal Clerks from the Archdiocese of York in the Fourteenth Century', *Northern History*, V (1970), 12-33.

10. *Reg. Wickwane*, pp. 99, 102, 262, 263, 264.

11. Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, pp. 33, 35, 100, 143.

12. *Reg. Wickwane*, pp. 126, 315.

13. *Ibid.* pp. 116, 149. *Reg. Romeyn*, I, 349-353.

On the history of the archdeaconry see A. Hamilton-Thompson, 'The Registers of the Archdeaconry of Richmond', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, XXV (1920), 129-268, XXX (1931), 1-132, XXXII (1932), III-I45.

Also R.M.T. Hill, 'The Labourer in the Vineyard. The Visitations of Archbishop Melton in the Archdeaconry of Richmond', *Borthwick Papers*, XXXV (York. St. Anthony's Press, 1968).

sermons in the southern province.¹⁴

In Archbishop Wickwane's notice to the archdeacon of Richmond in 1281 of his intention not to except the archdeaconry from visitation, he mentioned the enquiries which he intended to make. These included ascertaining the incumbents' names and qualifications, the number of benefices which they held, and whether or not these had been acquired before or after the Council of Lyons. In accordance with Archbishop Pecham's ruling on the subject any who held more than one benefice with cure of souls was to resign all except the last received, unless they could prove that they had received a papal dispensation.¹⁵ Similarly, the archdeacon of the East Riding was instructed to summon all pluralists before the archbishop to show what benefices they held with cure of souls. Those who held more than one benefice were to show their dispensations.¹⁶ Individual examples included John de Vavasour, presented to Addingham in 1279, who was to resign St. Mary's, Bishophill Senior, York; William Erchebaud, presented to Welbury, North Yorkshire, who was to resign Ancaster, Lincs, and John de Hengham, who was to receive Keyingham near Hedon, only on condition that he held no other benefice.¹⁷

Archbishop Romeyn continued and may even have intensified the energy of the campaign against pluralism and other evils. A visitation of the city of York was recorded in 1286, the year of his installation, where all rectors, vicars and parish priests and three trustworthy members of each parish were to be present and this was followed by a similar visitation of the Ainsty in Aberford parish church.¹⁸ Also in 1286 there were visitations of the Doncaster deanery, the archdeaconry of Cleveland and Bulmer, the jurisdictions of Ripley and Otley and the deaneries of Nottingham and Retford. Five years later there was a further visitation of Doncaster, Pontefract, the Ainsty, Cleveland, Bulmer, Ryedale and Whitby-strand. The southern area was not neglected, as there was a visitation of the deaneries of Bingham, Nottingham, Newark and Retford in 1290.¹⁹

Immediately after his appointment as archbishop, the rectors of eleven churches were summoned before him to show the dispensations which they had received for the holding of benefices in plurality. Following this decree, Robert of Scarborough, Dean of York, was deprived of his churches of Foston-on-the-Wolds and Adlingfleet. Again in 1289 the rectors of ten more churches were cited to appear before the Archbishop in the Minster to show the licence under which they held more than one church with cure of souls.²⁰

Punitive action was also taken against the allied evil of non-residence. The rectors of ten parishes were summoned before the Archbishop in September 1286 to answer questions about the non-residence of which they were accused.²¹ In the following year Peter de Augusta, Archdeacon of Lyons, was requested to give up his claim to Rotherham church and in 1292 Rayner Gilberti, who claimed to be rector of Stokesley, was required to return to his benefice within six months. In the same year the Official was ordered to sequestre the fruits of the vicarage of Hucknall Torkard, Nottinghamshire, because the vicar had gone to the Holy Land without leave. There are, in fact, as many as ninety-one sequestrations recorded in Archbishop Romeyn's register; most of them because of

14. Douie, Archbishop Pecham, p. 134.
Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 130.

D Knowles, 'Some Aspects of the Career of Archbishop Pecham', *English Historical Review*, LVII (1942). Also see note 3.

15. *Reg. Wickwane*, pp. 116-118, 95.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 95. Moorman, *Church Life in England*, pp. 191-96.

17. *Reg. Wickwane*, pp. 26, 57, 97.

18. *Reg. Romeyn*, I, 50, 51.

19. *Ibid.*, I, 67, 159, 255, 113, 236. *Ibid.*, II, 46.

20. *Ibid.*, I, 58, 60, 197, 340.

21. *Ibid.*, I, 60.

pluralism and non-residence.²²

The archbishops also made considerable effort to improve the situation whereby many of the clergy in the diocese had not received the necessary ordination or where ignorance, caused by lack of educational qualifications was, to quote Archbishop Pecham, 'casting the people into the ditch of error'.²³ On Wickwane's appointment as archbishop in November, 1279, he ordered the Archdeacon of York to make certain that all beneficed clergy, rectors and vicars and others with cure of souls, had received ordination to the order required by their benefice.²⁴ A month after this a commission was ordered to examine candidates for ordination and to test their qualifications. This was followed by further ordinations at Boroughbridge in 1280, and at Aberford in 1281. There are also eight ordinations recorded in Archbishop Romeyn's register.²⁵

The question of the educational qualifications of the clergy tended to conflict with the campaign against non-residence. Many of those appointed required absence for as long as three years if they were to reach an appropriate educational standard. Archbishop Wickwane's register records more than sixty licences for study and further licences were granted by his successor. In order to ensure that the cure of souls should continue, the incumbent was requested to let his benefice to another rector for the duration of his absence.²⁶ Archbishop Romeyn also wrote in 1293 to his Official, asking him not to cite for non-residence those who, in accordance with the Lateran decrees, were attending theological lectures given by the Chancellor of York. Archbishop Wickwane ordered that the rectors and vicars in the archdeaconry of Nottinghamshire should provide themselves with Books of the Use of York. Uniformity of liturgy would certainly have been approved by Rome and he may also have been emulating Archbishop Pecham's encouragement of the publication of vernacular treatises for preaching.²⁷

Another problem revealed by the visitation records was that of clerical immorality. The inquisitions which preceded a visitation were usually aimed at finding out whether the clergy were married, or had concubines, or were suspected of any other immorality.²⁸ Both archbishops made considerable effort to deal with this problem, as they had been required to do by the Council of Lyons and preceding legislation. Archbishop Wickwane twice refused to allow those guilty of immorality to continue in their parishes, or anywhere else in the diocese of York, and Archbishop Romeyn continued this severity against clerical offenders, both in the ecclesiastical courts and at archiepiscopal visitations. There was a

22. *Ibid.*, I, 79, 174, 306. N.B. The problem of lack of efficiency caused by old age among the clergy was dealt with by the appointment of coadjutors. There are about half a dozen examples of this. *Reg. Wickwane*, pp. 126-315. *Reg. Romeyn*, I, 71, 90, 89, 160. *Ibid.*, II, 56.

23. Martin, *Registrum Epistolarum J. Pecham*, III, 958, 965-6.

24. *Reg. Wickwane*, p. 18.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 22, 49, 41. *Reg. Romeyn*, I, 15, 21, 22, 30, 32, 33, 42.

Ibid., II, 95. There are examples of three individuals whom Archbishop Wickwane refused to induct to benefices, because they had not been ordained priest. *Reg. Wickwane*, pp. 18, 66, 95. One of them was later to be inducted on condition of ordination, according to the Council of London. *Ibid.*, p. 18. There is a similar example in Romeyn's register. *Reg. Romeyn*, I., 237.

Moorman, *Church Life in England*, p. 225.

26. *Reg. Wickwane*, pp. 39, 31, 62, 69, 76, 81, 82, 101, 123, 85, 115, 129, 62. *Reg. Romeyn*, I, 97, 133, 151, 184, 212, 236, 245, 291, 297, 302, 310, 353.

See R.M.T. Hill, 'Oliver Sutton, Bishop of Lincoln (1280-99)', *L(incoln) M(inister) P(amphlets)*, IV, (1950).

27. *Reg. Romeyn*. I, 36. *Reg. Wickwane*, p. 80.

G.R. Owst. *Preaching in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1926), p. 8.

N.B. The clergy were expected to attend the diocesan synod, the importance of which had been stressed in the Lateran decrees. These were mentioned at York, or occasionally Southwell in 1280, 1286, 1287, 1288, 1293 and 1297.

Gibbs and Lang, *Bishops and Reform*, p. 143.

Reg. Wickwane, p. 124. *Reg. Romeyn*, I, 18, 27, 40. II, 18, 243, 252.

28. Moorman, *Church Life in England*, p. 235.

high proportion of degradations from Holy Orders in the purgations mentioned in Romeyn's register.²⁹

An indirect method of overcoming pluralism and non-residence was to make sure that vicars were appointed. This impinged on the archbishops' management of the regular clergy. If a church happened to be appropriated to a monastery or collegiate church, rather than being the property of an absentee pluralist, the archbishops also took care to establish a vicarage. Financial arrangements were made in every vicarage ordination award, whereby the vicar was to receive a stipend from the rector or prebendary and also a share of the tithes and oblations and often a manse, in return for which he was to reside; to celebrate divine service and to share the burden of providing books and ornaments for the church and to be responsible for repairs and renewals.

Archbishop Wickwane established a vicarage at Birstall in 1280, which consisted of tithes, oblations and alterage with a messuage, garden and croft.³⁰ Also, in 1280, when Mattersey church in Nottinghamshire was appropriated to the canons of Mattersey, they were to have most of the tithes, except for specified bovates, and the tithe of hay, which were to be received by the vicar. The canons were to pay the synodals and twenty shillings³¹ a year for the repair of books and ornaments. Vicarages were also established by Archbishop Wickwane from 1283-4 at Silkstone, Walkeringham and Whenby, and the vicarage of Blyth was augmented by him in 1281. There are over twenty admissions to vicarages mentioned in his register and over thirty in that of Archbishop Romeyn, who also established new vicarages at Cantley, Carlton-in-Craven, Tadcaster, Bilton, Cotham, East Cowton, Bingham and Eaton. In this the archbishops were following the example of Bishop Robert Grosseteste, who had also sought to complement pluralism and appropriations by the ordination of vicarages.³²

The short term of office of Archbishop Newark provides a poor comparison with the reforming spirit of Archbishops Wickwane and Romeyn. Licences for study were issued but without the corollary of a campaign against pluralism and non-residence. He continued to be employed in the King's service for as long as old age permitted and was one of the guardians of the kingdom during Edward I's absence in Flanders. In his will he decreed that there were to be four chaplains to celebrate divine service daily for the souls of the King and Queen and also himself, 'for the King's affectionate remembrance of his labours'.³³

29. Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, pp. 315, 115.

Reg. Wickwane, pp. 67, 93, 126. *Reg. Romeyn*, I, 187, 256, 316, 220, 298, 86, 256, 332, 279, 395. II, 24, 54, 67, 69-72, 79.

N.B. Clerical celibacy had moral but no legal status in the West until the fifth century, when the papacy insisted that the clergy should not marry either before ordination or after it. Clerical marriage still existed in many areas in the eleventh century but the Gregorian reformers regarded celibacy as an essential part of their reform programme, which triumphed in the late twelfth century and was by this time well established. Dickinson, *An Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 266-70.

G.G. Coulton, *Ten Medieval Studies* (Cambridge, 1930), p. 142. On criminous clerks see L.C. Gabel, *Benefit of Clergy in the Late Middle Ages* (Smith College, 1929).

J.S. Purvis, 'The Ecclesiastical Courts of York', *Archives* III, 1957.

A.H. Thompson, *The English Clergy and their Organisation in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1947), pp. 54, 55.

30. *Reg. Wickwane*, p. 34. Moorman, *Church Life in England*, pp. 42-43.

31. *Reg. Wickwane*, pp. 70-73.

32. *Ibid.* pp. 288, 290, 292-93. *Reg. Romeyn*, I, 90, 101, 105, 118, 155, 266, 353, 326, 293. Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste*, pp. 144, 163, 277.

For further details of the appropriation of Carlton-in-Craven church to Bolton Priory, see I. Kershaw, *Bolton Priory, The Economy of a Northern Monastery, 1286-1325* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 180, 60, 13. Also see A. Hamilton-Thompson, 'A History and Architectural Description of the Priory of St. Mary, Bolton in Wharfedale, with some account of the Canons Regular of the Order of St. Augustine and their Houses in Yorkshire'. *Thoresby Society*, XXX(1928), 76-79.

33. *CPR.*, 1292-1301, p. 533

T. Rymer, *Foedera*, I, (1816), 537, 542, 597, 734-36.

THE MONASTERIES

If one looks at the management of the regular clergy, it is clear that Archbishops Wickwane and Romeyn showed similar indefatigability in the task of attempting to reform the monastic orders in the diocese. In this they were co-operating with the heads of the orders to implement the decrees of the reforming councils. An early precedent had been set by Archbishop Walter Gray, who had visited Selby Abbey and issued injunctions.³⁴

There had also been an attempt at reform through the Benedictine and Augustinian general chapters. The Benedictines had evolved a code of rules in 1218 and 1219 at Oxford and St. Albans and by the late thirteenth century both the Benedictines and the Augustinians were ruled by triennial chapters in each province. The Benedictine chapters held at Northallerton, Durham and Whitby from 1221-1273 put great emphasis upon vigorous observance of the Lateran decrees; and a scheme for mutual chapter visitation had been drawn up by the priors of Whitby, St. Mary's Abbey, York and Selby, and the sub-prior of Durham. There were meetings at Selby, Whitby and Durham from 1273-93 to deal with monastic discipline and it was ordained that the statutes must be proclaimed annually in the chapter house and that the prior and cellarer of each house must report annually to the mother house. An Augustinian meeting at Healaugh Park established uniform statutes, some of which were criticised for their harshness at Newburgh in 1282. It was decided in 1285 at Guisborough that they should be observed, though the grievances of individual houses would be considered. By the next chapter, in 1288, the dissidents had gained the support of Archbishop Romeyn and it was agreed that the rules should be more fully discussed and possibly amended, but no record exists of the 1291 chapter. Archbishop Wickwane had stressed that the Augustinians in the diocese should observe the York book of Use.³⁵

The Lateran decrees had emphasised the right and duty of the bishops to visit all the non-exempt orders. Pluralism and non-residence did not exist as an organised system, though the chief dignitaries, especially the abbots and priors, were not infrequently absent on the business of the house or could sometimes be sent on political missions by the King. The worst problem was the fact that many of the monasteries considered themselves virtually independent from the archbishops' control and took pride in their autonomy. Only during an official visitation of a particular monastery did he have the opportunity to assert his authority, but the archiepiscopal visitation rights varied even among monasteries of the same order.³⁶ The Benedictine abbey of St. Mary's York, for instance, had its own visitation rights, whereby the archbishop was not to visit the abbey more than once a year, though he might return if he found that correction was required. His retinue was to be entertained at the abbey only at the time of his first visitation and was not to include more than two or three officials.³⁷ The Cluniacs in the diocese constituted a serious problem because they claimed complete freedom from visitation, while the Cistercians claimed almost equal independence in that they would allow the archbishop to spend only one

34. T.M. Fallow, 'The Religious Houses of Yorkshire', in *Victoria County History of the County of York*, ed. W. Page III, 96-7. Moorman, *Church Life in England*, p. 279.
Raine, *Reg. Walter Gray*, p. 327.
35. *Chapters of the English Black Monks*, ed. W.A. Pantin, Camden Society (1931), pp. 233, 251-53, 255-60.
Chapters of the Augustinian Canons, ed. H.E. Salter, Canterbury and York Society (1922), pp. 39-44.
J.R.H. Moorman, *Church Life in England*, p. 273.
D Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge, 1963), p. 373. Knowles,
The Religious Orders, I, 28-29.
Reg. Wickwane, p. 294.
36. See C.R. Cheney, *Episcopal Visitation of Monasteries in the Thirteenth Century* (Manchester, 1931), pp. 54-119.
Knowles, *The Religious Orders*, I, 78-81, 85-95.
37. *The Chronicle of St. Mary's Abbey, York*, ed. H.H.E. Craster and M.E. Thornton, SS. (1934), P. 124.

night at an abbey on this primary visitation of the diocese. The alien priories were frequently under the influence of their mother houses abroad.³⁸

It would appear from the archbishops' registers that one of the worst problems in the monasteries was that of poverty. The most important reason for this must have been the fall in the purchasing power of money, which was to continue until the mid-sixteenth century. This imposed considerable economic strain on those who, like the monks, lived on a fixed income derived from lands. The generous endowments of earlier years had ceased and there were few new methods of increasing their revenues. Expenditure was necessitated, especially on the repair and construction of buildings. It is true to say that there was also a more secular spirit in the monasteries. A higher standard of living was expected than in the earlier days of monasticism; better food, better quality clothing and the replacement of manual labour by study or administration. Some debts are likely to have been caused by incompetence or extravagance. There was often rivalry between the monasteries and the emerging merchants and burgesses of the towns and also with the secular clergy who resented the monastic exemption from payment of tithes. However, the monasteries did not escape the heavy taxation of the period, notably the two Crusading Tents of 1274 and 1291. The sheep murrain of the 1280s was a severe blow to the monasteries in general and especially to the Cistercian and Augustinian houses, which depended on wool production as their main source of income. Many houses had suffered disasters such as floods, fire or pestilence, which affected their financial stability.³⁹ The expense of the archbishops'

38. On the subject of the alien priories see D. Matthew, *The Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions* (Oxford, 1962).

39. Craster and Thornton, *Chron. St. Mary's Abbey*, p. 6.

J.R.H Moorman, *Church Life in England*, pp. 287-89, 334-44, 249-50, 294, 302, 311-12, 304.

B. Waites, 'Monasteries and the Wool Trade in North and East Yorkshire during the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries' *YAJ*. (1980).

Knowles, *The Monastic Order*, pp. 431-439.

Knowles, *The Religious Orders*, I, 95-96, 17-21, 65-73, 625-66, 288-89.

Statuta Capitularum Generalis Ordinis Cisterciensis, ed. J.M. Canivez, *Bibliotheque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique*, ix (1933), 266, 212, 258.

R.H. Snape, *English Monastic Finances in the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1926), p. 119.

R.M.T. Graham, *The Finances of Malton Priory* (S.P.C.K., 1929). Instances of poverty and disasters included Bolton Priory, which was heavily in debt and had suffered floods and the death of sheep and other stock and whose buildings were in need of repair; Guisborough, where the newly built church had been destroyed by fire; Thurgarton and Newburgh, which were heavily in debt and Mattersey, whose buildings had been damaged by fire and St. Mary's Abbey, York, which had suffered from flooding. Poverty was mentioned at Bridlington, Healaugh Park and Monk Bretton, where the rector of Sandal was appointed as assistant to the prior and convent. The priories of Worksop, Pontefract, Bolton, Sawley and Selby were allowed to appropriate churches or moieties of churches because of poverty. This was also in evidence at the nunneries of Nunkeeling, Wallingwells and Nun Appleton. All nunneries were exempt from the taxation of Pope Nicholas IV because of their poverty stricken state. Masters of the nuns were appointed at Sinningthwaite, Swine, Arthington, Yedingham, Hampole, Wilberfoss and Moxby. Kirkstall, Rievaulx and Fountains applied to the Chapter General for dispersal in these years and Meaux was also in debt. Rievaulx was taken into royal custody in 1276, although it had received higher prices than many monasteries for its wool. Royal custodians were also appointed at St. Mary's York, Lenton and Newstead and at Fountains in 1291.

Reg. Wickwane, pp. 96, 216, 62, 63, 46, 58, 152, 131, 70, 288, 313, 28. *Reg. Romeyn*, I, 56, 86, 96, 104-6, 109, 157, 118-19, 125, 180, 203, 209, 211, 217, 234, 219.

Ibid., II, 79. *Guisborough Chartulary*, ed. W. Brown, SS. (1888-94), II, 353-4.

Knowles, *The Monastic Order*, p. 463.

Chronica Monasterii de Melsa, ed. E. Bond, RS. (1866), II, 156, 175.

Craster and Thornton, *St. Mary's Abbey Chron.*, pp. 7, 8, 16.

Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H.R. Luard, RS. (1872-83), V, pp. 362-3, 503.

Memorials of the Abbey of Fountains, ed. J.R. Walbran and J.T. Forster, SS. (1863) I, 179-82.

CPR., 1281-92, pp. 294, 154. *Ibid.*, 1292-1301, p. 508.

visitations imposed an additional strain on their economy, as did almsgiving and hospitality. The abbot of a monastery often had autocratic power over financial affairs but was not necessarily a good business administrator. An example of this was Abbot William of Wendover at Meaux. Ineptitude in the management of accounts and temporary methods of paying debts, such as the sale of produce in advance, the raising of loans and the sale of corrodies could also contribute to financial crises.⁴⁰

There were three typical methods of organising finance. The most efficient of these was where, as at Canterbury and Winchester, all the revenues were paid into a central treasury and the three treasurers then granted each obedientiary, including the prior, the money required for his office and each presented his account annually. This probably originated in an adaption of the organisation of the royal exchequer. There is evidence that Archbishop Romeyn attempted to establish the Canterbury system at Bridlington. This also followed the example of Archbishop Pecham, who had introduced it at Glastonbury and Reading and to a lesser extent at other monasteries in the southern province. A second, more usual, method was where each obedientiary had his own fund and only the surplus was received by the treasury. There is evidence that this was the system which existed at Durham. However, in many monasteries there was no treasury at all and the revenues were dealt with by the individual obedientiaries. At Canterbury itself there was considerable laxity and Archbishop Pecham stated that he found it more difficult to restore the system there than to introduce it in other monastic houses. In fact, even what had been one of the richest monasteries in Europe, fortunate in its possession of Archbishop Thomas Becket's shrine and its proximity to London markets, was almost £5000 in debt; although it revived dramatically after the election of the efficient prior, Henry of Eastry, 1285-1331.⁴¹

Other problems in the monasteries included spiritual decadence, non-observance of the rule and secularity of outlook. The archbishop attempted to reform both the financial and the spiritual condition of the monasteries by means of visitation; a clear parallel with the work of Archbishop Pecham in the southern province. Bishop Grosseteste had also seen the importance of this and had disapproved of the attempts of the monasteries to avoid archiepiscopal visitation and of their frequent unwillingness to institute vicarages in appropriated churches or to co-operate in the work of the diocese.

There is much evidence of the archbishops' energetic and conscientious attempts to remedy the situation by visitations. These would begin with an introductory sermon; after which the archbishop would ask searching questions as to the finances of the house, the conduct of officials and whether or not the sick were cared for adequately and alms given to the poor. He would enquire into the celebration of the Church services and there would be examination of individual monks. The statutes would be read out in the chapter house and the archbishop would then exercise judgment in deciding who were the scoundrels or who were the suppressors of truth. The accused would then be made to confess or find

40. Bond, *Chron. de Melsa*, III, 287. II, 156, 175.

Snape, *English Monastic Finances*, pp. 150, 16, 136, 148. Knowles, *The Religious Orders*, I, 55.

41. R.A.L. Smith, *Canterbury Cathedral Priory, a study in monastic administration* (Cambridge, 1943), pp. 27, 53. Also see I.J. Churchill, *Canterbury Administration* (S.P.C.K.), 1933.

Snape, *English Monastic Finances*, pp. 43-45.

Extracts from the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham, ed. J.T. Fowler, SS. (1898-99, 1901), II, 6, 113. III, 492.

Pantin, *Chapters*, II, 226, 238, 251, 117, 122, 127, 127, 230.

Rites of Durham, ed. J. Raine, SS. (1842), pp. 78, 85, 99.

Douie, *Archbishop Pecham*, pp. 170-76.

Moorman, *Church Life in England*, pp. 280-83. Knowles, *The Religious Orders*, I, 49-54, 56-63.

41. Reg. Romeyn, I, p. 199. D Knowles, *The Monastic Order*, pp. 431-439. R.B. Dobson, *Durham Priory, 1400-1450* (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 257-260.

compurgators and appropriate penances imposed on those who were found guilty.⁴²

At Guisborough Archbishop Wickwane requested that the expenditure of the monastery should be reduced and that alms should not be given to any except those who were destitute. The prior was to give due attention to temporal as well as to spiritual matters and was to make sure that accounts were properly kept. Expensive schools for rich and poor were no longer to be financed from the monastic funds, except by special permission of the Chancellor of York. Thurgarton's finances were found to be in a particularly bad state and the prior was urged to give more attention to temporal matters and to pay all the debts which he had incurred. Other monasteries were requested not to incur expense by entertaining visitors and were not to admit new members, or were to dismiss useless tenants, to pay any gifts or private property into the common fund and to use their money for roof repairs. There were frequent prohibitions of the sale of corrodies and requests that alms or surplus food and drink should not be wasted but given only to the deserving poor and that accounts should be presented yearly or sometimes twice yearly, as at Newstead and Bolton.⁴³ At Nun Appleton the archbishop stated that the prioress was to receive money only in the presence of three of the older nuns and at the end of the year was to balance the accounts in the presence of specially chosen *seniores*. A special grant is recorded in his register to relieve the poverty of the nuns of Wallingwells and there is also a request in Romeyn's register to deal gently with the nuns of Nunkeeling in the exaction of the Tenth. Archbishop Wickwane entrusted the visitations of the nunneries of Hampole, Yedingham and Moxby to a deputy, in order to save them the cost of a full visitation. The expense of archiepiscopal visitations had already been restricted by both the Fourth Lateran Council and the Council of Lyons.⁴⁴

One method of improving the financial situation, albeit reluctantly, was to allow a monastery to appropriate either a church or a moiety of a church, always taking care to ordain a vicarage and making sure that the profits were shared equally between the vicar and the monastery.⁴⁵ Another method of reducing expenditure, especially in the case of the more impoverished of the nunneries, was to establish strict entrance regulations and to limit the number of novices, and also the number of servants, who were admitted. Archbishop Wickwane forbade the nuns of Wilberfoss and Nunkeeling to receive novices at the request of the local nobility, without his prior permission, or to accommodate secular women as boarders and in 1289 Archbishop Romeyn issued a similar injunction at Nun Appleton. There is also evidence in Archbishop Romeyn's register that intending novices had to obtain letters of recommendation from the archbishop.⁴⁶ In virtually all of his visitation decrees there were requests for a yearly audit of accounts and the prohibition of the sale of corrodies. At Bridlington and Drax he stated that the accounts should be rendered twice yearly and that at Drax the almoner was to be much more careful in the distribution of supplies. Both the archbishops might appoint custodians to be responsible for the financial affairs of a monastic house or convent.⁴⁷

42. Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste*, p. 163.

C.R. Cheney, *Episcopal Visitation of Monasteries in the Thirteenth Century* (Manchester, 1931), pp. 54-119. Knowles, *The Religious Orders*, I, 78-84.

43. *Reg. Wickwane*, pp. 142-150, 130, 135, 89, 96, 56, 87.

Guisborough Chartulary, ed. W. Brown, SS. (1894), II, 412-450. III, 361. Knowles, *The Religious Orders*, I, 91.

44. *Reg. Wickwane*, pp. 140, 269. *Reg. Romeyn*, I, 234

45. e.g. *Reg. Romeyn* I, 118. See note 32. Possibly Archbishop Romeyn was inclined to be well disposed towards Bolton Priory because of the help which the prior had given him in the Durham dispute. Also see n. 32 above.

46. *Reg. Wickwane*, p. 113. *Reg. Romeyn*, I, 96, 66.

47. *Reg. Romeyn*, I, 153, 199, 86, 234, 125, 157, 180, 109, 203.

Reg. Wickwane, p. 28.

The archbishops also attempted to limit the autocratic power of the abbot, as advised by the reforming councils and Pope Innocent III. The priors of Drax, Shelford, Newstead, Newburgh and Bolton were advised to take more notice of the suggestions of the chapter and the senior members of the convent and to ignore the advice of laymen.⁴⁸

Regarding the spiritual problems, the prior of Newburgh was found guilty of immorality and made to exchange his position for that of an ordinary canon of Nostell. At Drax the sub-prior was deposed and one of the canons placed last in the community and ordered to go without meat on Sundays, because he had spent so much time in quarrelling.⁴⁹ The most notorious example of an abbot who neglected his duties and the heaviest punishment incurred was at Selby, which clearly had not implemented the decrees of Archbishop Giffard. The abbot was sternly reprimanded by Archbishop Wickwane and accused of alienating the property of the convent by granting manors, advowsons and corrodies to outsiders. It was said that he seldom attended meetings of the chapter, refused to take meals in the refectory and dined with his tenants in their manors, ignoring fast days. He was accused of being haughty and irritable towards the monks and of physically wounding three of them, of not sleeping in the dormitory and of immorality. It was stated that he had also wasted the funds of the convent by procuring the services of a man who claimed to be a wizard to find the body of his brother, drowned in the River Ouse. He was accused of flagrantly ignoring the statutes; excommunicated, deposed and sent to Durham for penance.⁵⁰

At Guisborough Archbishop Wickwane published a lengthy and detailed document, categorising many of the faults or misdemeanours which must be avoided as being contrary to the Augustinian rule or the dictates of the reforming councils. This well illustrates the determination of the archbishops' campaign to reform the regular clergy of the diocese. In the decrees which followed monastic visitation there was always great emphasis on the prohibition of drinking after compline, or leaving the cloister, or allowing strangers into the refectory or the entertaining of women. The carrels and boxes of the monks or nuns were searched for private property. Hunting was forbidden at Newburgh, Cartmel and Bridlington, as was the keeping of horses and greyhounds. At Newstead the canons were found to have been playing dice and reprimanded accordingly. The nuns were vulnerable to the influence of women of fashion and frequently had to be reminded of the strictly uniform style of dress which they had adopted.⁵¹

Archbishops Wickwane and Romeyn visited not only the non-exempt orders but also some which could claim to be totally exempt from visitation. Monk Bretton was visited by Archbishop Wickwane, who insisted that it was Benedictine, not Cluniac, and that his predecessors had been in possession of full rights of visitation and correction. The prior and convent professed obedience and Archbishop Romeyn later made corrections by which the prior was to remember that the property of the house was to be held in common and that the cellarer was to sleep in the dormitory. One of the monks was sent to Whitby for penance

48. *Reg. Wickwane*, pp. 135, 144, 55, 143, 131. Knowles, *The Religious Orders*, I, 270.

49. *Reg. Wickwane*, p. 135.

50. W. Brown, *Reg. Giffard*, p. 325.

Reg. Wickwane, p. 24. The prior of Holy Trinity, York, was also excommunicated by Archbishop Romeyn.

Reg. Romeyn, I, 138, 233.

51. *Reg. Wickwane*, pp. 56, 150, 87, 130, 131.

Reg. Romeyn, I, 317, 319.

At Newburgh, Bridlington, Kirkham and Newstead the church services were to be properly performed and the arguments which had occurred in the middle of the chant at Kirkham were to cease, and at Warter spices were to be given for singing the psalms correctly.

Reg. Wickwane, pp. 87, 131, 91, 136, 144, 55, 143, 130.

and the rector of Sandal was appointed as an assistant to the prior and convent.⁵²

The archbishops also exercised their only right over the Cistercians in the diocese, that of spending one night at an abbey on their primary visitation of the diocese. From Fountains Abbey Archbishop Romeyn immediately wrote to the abbot of Clairvaux, complaining of the conspiracies and cliques which existed among the monks, which had brought the abbey to a ruinous state. This eventually led to its being taken over by the King and secular administrators appointed. In addition to this the abbot of Rievaulx was subsequently deposed.⁵³ The archbishops also showed particular concern for the alien priories in the diocese, to ensure that these houses did not escape their surveillance as a result of their special relationship with their mother houses abroad. Archbishop Romeyn stated that French monks should not stay in England for more than four or five years because they would inevitably long for their native land. This may have been partly the result of the influence of the King, who had launched a campaign against the infiltration of foreigners into the country at a time when England was at war with France. The alien priories were under considerable suspicion and foreign monks in strategic positions were moved elsewhere. The prior of Blyth, with ten of his monks, was transferred to Ecclesfield, near Sheffield, which was further from the coast. By the Statute of Carlisle the monks were forbidden to send money out of the country to their mother houses abroad and guardians were appointed in 1298 to prevent any of the foreign monks from speaking with or giving messages to strangers. Eventually, as a culmination of these security measures, the King in 1299 took custody of all the foreign houses in the realm, had the value of their property assessed and appropriated much of their revenues.⁵⁴

Royal and aristocratic intervention may in some respects have imposed a threat to the effectiveness of the archbishops' campaign to reform the regular clergy of the diocese, but the archbishops had not traditionally had a strong influence over the alien priories, and there is evidence that Archbishop Romeyn attempted to undermine this tradition of independence from archiepiscopal authority. When the alien priory of Holy Trinity, York, claimed exemption from the jurisdiction of the archbishop and appealed to Rome, Archbishop Romeyn retaliated by excommunicating the prior and sequestering its goods. He also attempted to improve the quality of the monks sent to Blyth from Holy Trinity,

52. *Reg. Wickwane*, p. 139. *Reg. Romeyn*, I, 132.

53. Walbran and Fowler, *Mem. Abbey of Fountains*, I, 185, 179, 181.

Reg. Romeyn, II, 66, 262, 77, 79.

CPR., 1292-1301. p. 508.

54. D Matthew, *The Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 83, 84.

Reg. Romeyn, I, 45, 298-99. Knowles, *The Religious Orders*, I, 92.

54. *VCH.*, III, 151.

Statutes of the Realm (1810), I, 150-52, See Note 39. In spite of the fact that scholastic and literary activity had been forbidden in the early Cistercian decrees, by the end of the thirteenth century there was the Cistercian Rewley College at Oxford, as well as Durham and Gloucester Colleges for the Benedictines. Many Cistercian houses, for example, Rievaulx, possessed libraries by this time, though there were few Cistercian chronicles until the next century. No doubt their change in policy was partly out of competition with the friars, who had always been involved in the development of scholastic theology at the Universities of Paris and Oxford. Also there was the early example of Ailred of Rievaulx, who had been a prolific writer, though with little schooling.

The Kirkstall Abbey Chronicle, ed. J. Taylor (Thoresby Society, 1952), p. 7.

M.R. James, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in Jesus College, Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1895), pp. 44-52.

Dobson, *Durham Priory*, pp. 343-346.

Knowles, *The Religious Orders*, I, 23-29, 289.

Walter Daniel, *The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx*, ed. F.M. Powicke (Nelson, 1950) XXXIII, XXXV, XCV-CII.

A. Squire, *Ailred of Rievaulx* (S.P.C.K., 1969).

Rouen, sending back the troublesome ones and asking for those who took a delight in the holy life.⁵⁵

The patrons of the monasteries possessed privileges, such as the right to be granted the prayers of the house, and the King received the prayers of the entire realm. The patrons might also receive corrodies or benefices for their dependants and a patron might stay at the house when ill and usually chose to be buried there. It was a patron's duty to assist if the abbey was in financial difficulties and to give the licence to elect and present a candidate for the abbacy, or sometimes to nominate monks or canons.⁵⁶

The Earl of Lincoln's taking over of some of the lands of Kirkstall on lease and providing money to pay its creditors does provide an example of a patron's intervention which involved the breaking of the monastic statutes against the leasing of land to outsiders. Such renting of land to patrons or tenants was of advantage to the King in implementing the Statute of Mortmain of 1279, as land which was leased to patrons or tenants might be brought out of mortmain and the feudal dues regained by the royal exchequer.⁵⁷

Royal or aristocratic intervention, however, not infrequently had the beneficial effect of restoring the finances of a monastery, and relieving the archbishop from this responsibility. The King's influence included, as well as the patronage of five of the monasteries of the diocese, the taking over of the temporalities of an abbey in a vacancy and the exaction of a payment from the successful candidate for the abbacy when the temporalities were restored.⁵⁸ As previously mentioned there are several examples of royal intervention to improve the situation of an impoverished house by the appointment of official custodians, including St. Mary's Abbey, York; Lenton, Newstead, Rievaulx and Fountains.⁵⁹

It was also necessary for any abbot or prior who attended a meeting or general chapter abroad to gain the King's permission and protection. This was requested and received by the abbots of Meaux, Jervaulx, Rufford, Byland and Rievaulx, who attended Cistercian, Premonstratensian, Cluniac and Benedictine chapters. Royal permission had also to be gained by members of the regular clergy who went abroad for reasons unspecified. The King himself might send some of the chief dignitaries abroad in connection with politics and diplomacy. In 1290, the abbot of Welbeck was sent to Norway, probably to assist in the proposed arrangement of the marriage of the King's son, Edward, with a Norwegian princess. The Prior of Lenton was sent to Scotland on a royal mission and St. Mary's Abbey, York, received royal protection in return for assistance over the wars against Wales. Priors and abbots might also be summoned to attend the council which eventually became Parliament.⁶⁰

In 1293, when King Edward I obtained the vill of Wyke and the grange of Myton from Meaux Abbey to found Kingston-upon-Hull as a new port of embarkation for Scotland,

55. *Reg. Romeyn*, I, 138, 233. *Ibid.*, II, 272, 258, 298, 254, 298, 797.

56. S. Wood, *English Monasteries and their patrons in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1955), pp. 6, 7, 118, 119. *Reg. Romeyn*, I, 16, 40, 35.

57. T.D. Whitaker, *The History and Antiquities of the Deanery of Craven* (London, 1812), pp. 81, 82.

Also see T.F.T. Plucknett, *The Legislation of Edward I* (Oxford, 1949).

58. M. Howell, *Regalian Right in Medieval England* (1962), p. 5.

59. *CPR.*, 1281-92, pp. 294, 154.

Craster and Thornton, *Chron. St. Mary's Abbey*, pp. 8, 16.

Walbran and Fowler, *Mem. Abbey of Fountains*, pp. 179-181.

CPR., 1292-1301, p. 508. Also see note 39.

So that Fountains should incur no additional debt, the King also decreed that no sheriff or minister or any other person should lodge in the abbey or its granges during the time of its custody.

60. *Ibid.*, 1281-92, pp. 166, 381, 318, 250, 491, 169.

Ibid., 1292-1301, pp. 37, 66, 354.

Ibid., 1287-92, pp. 349, 350.

Ibid., 1281-92, p. 17. Knowles, *The Religious Orders*, I, 259, 277.

the monks of Meaux complained of inadequate compensation and eventually the abbey was allowed to appropriate the advowson of three churches and the chantry of Ottringham, adding to the number of monastic appropriations. The chantry was served by seven monks, giving them the opportunity to leave their cloister and leading eventually to a scandal and their replacement by secular chaplains. One of the three appropriated churches was later resigned to the archbishop, after some dispute.⁶¹

It is unlikely that the archbishop would have risked a quarrel with the King over the control of the monastic houses of the diocese, either during or after the incessant complications involved in the Durham dispute, which had both decreased the Archbishop of York's rights as a metropolitan to the advantage of the King's favoured minister, Bishop Anthony Bek, and prevented archiepiscopal visitation of the Benedictine monastery of Durham.⁶² In general, however, it is doubtful if the influence of the King and patrons over the monasteries was a serious hindrance to the reforming efforts of Archbishops Wickwane and Romeyn in connection with the regular clergy.

The mendicant orders were not restricted by the authority of their patrons, nor was the royal influence significant. In 1282, Archbishop Wickwane granted the friars minor of Beverley a sum of money and in 1284 he gave them the authority to excommunicate under certain conditions. This possession of the Church's most sacred privilege gave them a particularly important status. Archbishop Romeyn added to this in 1286; stating that the friars were to be allowed to celebrate Mass, to hear confessions, to preach sermons, to absolve from sins and impose penances. Later, in 1291, he requested them to co-operate with him in preaching the Crusade; knowing that they had a better reputation as preachers than the secular clergy and that as the most dynamic movement of their time they could help to strengthen the reform movement in the diocese. The friars still retained an idealistic and reforming spirit, in contrast with the older monastic world. Clearly the archbishops were doing their best, as required by the Council of Lyons, to assist this flourishing movement. In this they were using the same policy as Archbishop Pecham, who had himself begun his career as a Franciscan and continued to protect and support the friars, despite their unpopularity with both the monks and the suffragan bishops. It was also in the tradition of Bishop Grosseteste of Lincoln, whose strong connection with the friars, particularly Roger Bacon and Adam Marsh, is well known.⁶³

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it is apparent that the failure to prevent the pluralism and non-residence among the secular clergy, which had become so much an integral part of medieval politics and government was inevitable. The battle against non-residence and pluralism was to be a losing one. Many of the members of the laity must have seen the Church as merely a method of providing financial support for privileged members of the aristocracy or government or foreign clerks. The king and the aristocracy had considerable influence over the church in general. The task of reforming the regular clergy was also difficult in that the

61. Bond, *Chron. de Melsa*, II, 232, 234.

62. On the Durham dispute see R. Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction and Papal Judges Delegate* (California, 1959). Also T.G. Lapsley, *The County Palatine of Durham* (Longmans, 1900). G.M. Hallas, thesis, pp. 215-234.

63. C.F.R. Palmer, 'The Friars Preachers or Black Friars of Beverley', *YAJ.*, VII, 32, 34.

Also see J.R.H. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from its origins to the year 1517* (Oxford, 1968).

A.G. Little, *Studies in English Franciscan History* (Manchester, 1917). Knowles, *The Religious Orders*, I, 136-38, 178-81, 205, 207-210, 220, 228-232.

Douie, *Archbishop Pecham*, pp. 5-46, 167, 228.

Stevenson, *Robert Grosseteste*, pp. 64, 76.

J.H. Srawley, 'Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln (1235-53)', *LMP.*, VII, 5.

archbishops could not ensure that all of the visitation decrees and injunctions which they made would be enforced. Nevertheless they can be seen as being very definitely in the reforming tradition. Archbishop Wickwane was, after his death at Pontigny, considered by some to be a saint and miracles were said to be wrought at his shrine. Archbishop Romeyn was among those who requested the canonisation of Robert Grosseteste. He was a worthy follower of this bishop in that he combined great reforming energy in his diocese and enthusiasm for the highest ideals of the Church, with a policy of respectful remonstrance towards both Pope and King, where he felt that this was necessary. He personally laid the foundation stone of the new nave of York Minster and it was under his auspices that the chapter house there was completed.⁶⁴

Subsequent archbishops were, perhaps, less reformers in the old style than administrators, though it is true that Archbishop Newark's successor, Thomas Corbridge, was a scholar whose ability had been recognised by Archbishop Wickwane.⁶⁵ His itinerary during his archiepiscopate from 1300-1304 was not as full as those of Archbishops Wickwane and Romeyn and he did not visit the archdeaconry of Richmond. His favourite manors appear to have been Laneham, Cawood and Bishop Burton. Although he was active and conscientious while at these manors, there is no evidence of the same sort of campaign against pluralism and non-residence which was launched by Archbishops Wickwane and Romeyn. There are injunctions for only one abbey, that of Newstead, though others were also visited. The same problems of poverty and appropriations continued, and also the sale of corrodies.⁶⁶ There does seem to have been an increasingly secular spirit manifested in an increase in the foundation of chantries and oratories.⁶⁷ The contemporary Pope Boniface VIII appeared to be more intent on worldly power than on the spiritual dominion of Gregory VII and Innocent III. Archbishop Corbridge made peace with the powerful King's clerk, Bishop Anthony Bek of Durham, and reverted to relations as in the time of Archbishop Giffard, thus reinforcing secular power over the Church.⁶⁸

Archbishop Corbridge's successors, William de Greenfield and William of Melton, both achieved distinction in the royal service; William de Greenfield as Chancellor. In fact from 1304-73 the archbishopric was in the hands of four royal clerks, the other two being William de la Zouche and John Thoresby. Each of them had been either the King's Chancellor or the Keeper of his Privy Seal and they never completely discontinued their service to the Crown.⁶⁹ This did not mean that they were lacking in efficiency as archbishops, but it does appear that some of the inspiration of the Gregorian reform movement must have gradually decreased as the fourteenth century continued. This was an era of increasing anti-clericalism and hostility towards the Church, beginning with Dubois, John of Paris and Philippe le Bel in opposition to Pope Boniface VIII and

64. *The Chronicle of Lanercost*, ed. J. Stevenson, Maitland and Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh (1839), p. 102.
Reg. Romeyn, II, 160, 23.

65. *Reg. Wickwane*, pp. 3, 6, 276, 321.

J. Raine, *Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops* RS. (1863), II, 411. On Archbishop Newark see n. 3, n. 33.

Also Hallas, thesis, pp. 44-49.

66. *Reg. Wickwane*, pp. 343, 348. *Reg. Romeyn*, II, 191-203. *The Register of Archbishop Thomas Corbridge*, ed. W. Brown, SS. (1925), II, 181-190, I, 280-281, 156, 163, 152.

67. *Ibid.*, I, 27, 29, 121, 215, 238, 263.

See K.L. Woodlegh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain* (Cambridge, 1965).

68. *Reg. Corbridge*, II, 137, 139, 141-45. 148-50.

69. *Ibid.*, I, 110. *Ibid.*, II, XXVII. Knowles, *The Religious Orders*, I, 100-01, 111.

A History of York Minster, ed. G.E. Aylmer and R. Cant (Oxford, 1977), pp. 77, 295-310.

See K. Wood, 'The Administration of the Province and Diocese of York under Archbishop William Greenfield, 1306-15' (unpub. M.A. thesis, Leeds Univ. 1962).

The Register of Archbishop William Greenfield ed. W. Brown and A.H. Thompson, SS. (1931).

continuing with Marsiglio of Padua, William of Occam, Lewis the Bavarian, Langland, Wyclif and Chaucer. It was also an age of increasing nationalism and resentment towards papal power and taxation, especially when the money was used to pay for Italian wars, or even worse; at the time of the Avignon papacy; for the assistance of France, the contemporary national enemy.⁷⁰

70. See H.P. Hutchinson, *Edward II* (Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1971).
Knowles, *The Religious Orders*, I, 4, 16.
B. Wilkinson, *The Later Middle Ages in England, 1216-1485* (Longmans, 1969).
M. McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1959), pp. 211, 226-28.
W.A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 98, 100.
K. Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages* (Manchester, 1949).
K.L. Woodlegh, *Church Life Under Edward III* (Cambridge, 1934).
M. Keen, *A History of Medieval Europe* (Routledge, 1969), pp. 244-45.
J.D. Mackie, *The Earlier Tudors, 1485-1558* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 20-21.
A.G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London, 1964).

HATFIELD MANOR HOUSE, SOUTH YORKSHIRE

By Julian Birch and Peter Ryder

Hatfield, 11km to the north-east of Doncaster, is one of the more attractive villages of the lowland east of South Yorkshire. It lies on an 'island' of glacial sands and gravels at an altitude of around 6m above Ordnance Datum amongst the now drained 'levels' of the former Hatfield Chase, one of the most famous medieval hunting grounds in the North of England. The village, which has recently expanded considerably to the north and west, has at its centre St Lawrence's Church, of twelfth century and later date, and a number of interesting brick houses of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, some of which probably conceal remains of earlier timber-framed structures.

The Manor House stands to the east of the main street of the village (the A18, here named 'Manor Road'), c.250m to the south of the parish church. It is set back from the road in the centre of an enclosure roughly 185m square, which seems to have been ditched or moated (Fig. 1). The eastern part of this enclosure remains open. Until recently the only other buildings within the enclosed area were the eighteenth-century Court House, fronting onto the street to the north-west of the Manor House, and a stable block and barn of similar date behind it, but within the past ten years a number of new houses have been built to the north and west of the old house, while the stable block has been renovated as a dwelling and the barn pulled down and rebuilt. This new development has blocked the former drive entrance to the Manor House with its curved brick walls and stone-capped piers of late eighteenth or early nineteenth-century date, the present access being by a narrow lane further to the north.

Previous study of the building

Antiquarian interest in the fabric of the manor house has been surprisingly slight, even in recent years. Hunter does little more than mention the continued existence of the building.¹ Tomlinson states that 'the present large, low whitewashed building was probably re-erected towards the middle of the 17th century; but there are interior portions - rubble walls, narrow doorways, and antique steps, which may well be attributed to a much earlier period'.² The discovery and restoration of the twelfth-century window at the west end of the hall block is alluded to in a brief account in the *Doncaster Gazette*: 'interior alterations made a few years ago brought to light undeniable traces of a much older fabric'.³ The Ministry of Housing and Local Government List of buildings of architectural and historical importance issued in May 1966 (and based on a survey completed two years previously by Thorne R.D.C.) gives a quite detailed account of the house and recognizes the survival of twelfth-century fabric. A note based on this appears in the addenda to the second edition of Pevsner's volume on the West Riding.⁴

However, even in 1970 the W.E.A. publication *Hatfield in History* could state that 'nothing remains visible of the Saxon and medieval royal palaces',⁵ and a 1973 report in the *Doncaster Gazette* repeats local legend that the house was built in 1607 after a fire had

1. J. Hunter, *South Yorkshire* London 1831, Vol. I, p.155.

2. J. Tomlinson, *The Level of Hatfield Chase*, 1882, p. 139.

3. 20 May 1932, p. 8.

4. N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England - Yorkshire, The West Riding*, Harmondsworth 1967, p. 255.

5. Holland (ed.).

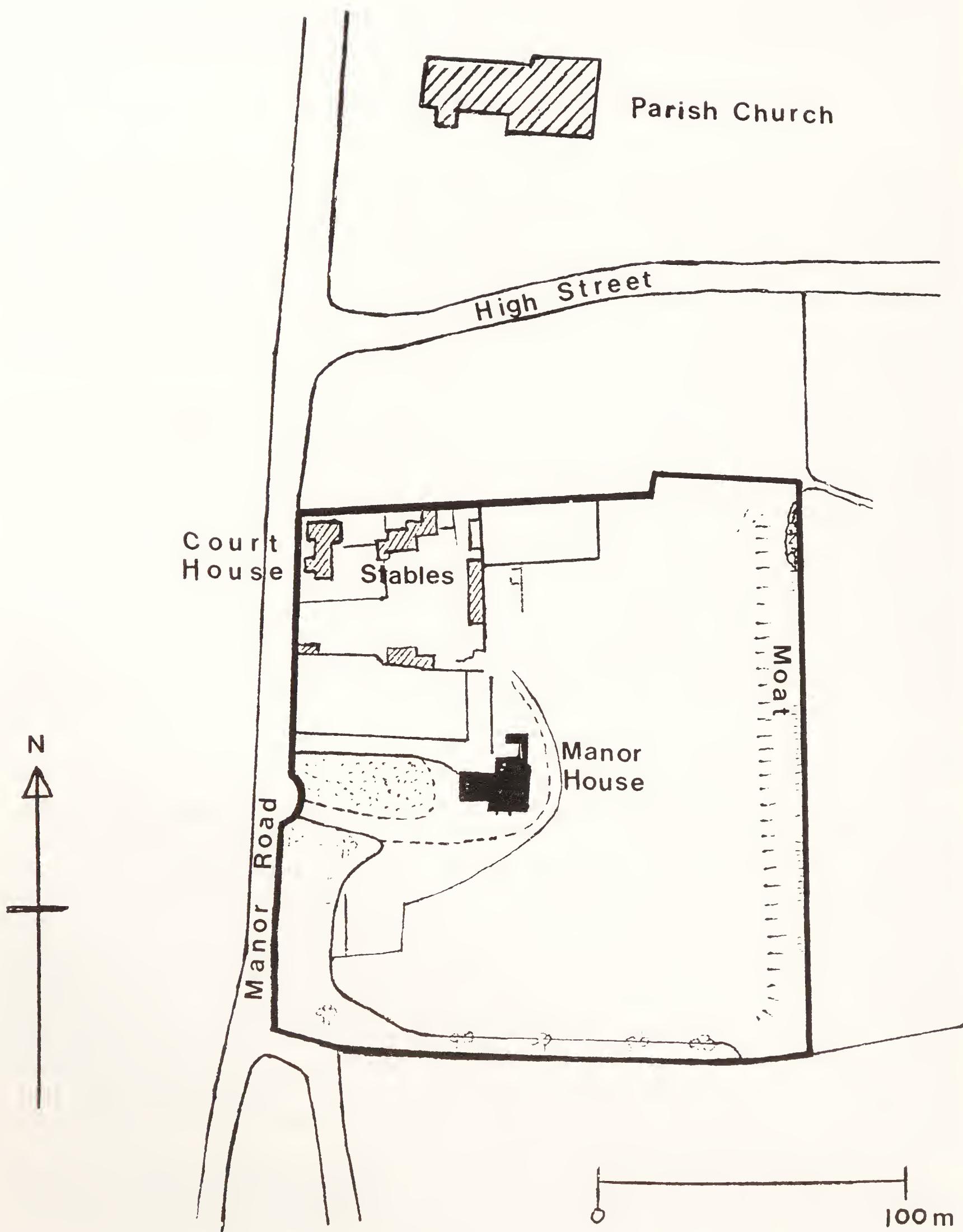


Fig. 1. Hatfield Manor Garth (before post-war building additions).

destroyed a wooden predecessor, that it contained over 100 rooms, and that the greater part of the building had been pulled down in the mid-nineteenth century.⁶ Magilton refers to the manor in his survey of buildings in the district, but appears to doubt the *in situ* survival of Norman fabric, describing the house as 'reputedly containing 12th-century material', with 'very slight remains' and 'medieval fragments' in the present building.⁷

Not all recent owners have encouraged public interest in the property. However, after the house changed hands in 1983, the new owners gave the South Yorkshire County Archaeology Service the opportunity both to investigate the standing fabric and to carry out a very limited excavation, in advance of drainage improvements, around part of its perimeter. Rendering was removed from parts of the south and west elevations of the hall block, to reveal the substantial survival of a twelfth-century stone building. Whilst the investigation was limited, the building history of the Manor House has to some extent been elucidated, and many early architectural features exposed.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PRESENT HOUSE

Hatfield Manor House is today a large building of plain Georgian appearance, mostly two-storeyed and entirely rendered externally. The roofs are of low pitch, and few pre-eighteenth-century features are visible. Structurally, the house consists of four distinct parts, each of a different date. The hall block, the surviving twelfth-century building, runs east-west with a later medieval addition, almost square in plan, built onto the east part of its south wall and slightly overlapping its east end. The seventeenth-century east wing is built across the east end of both these, whilst the fourth and latest element is the northern extension of this wing, retaining the same eaves level but having three floors instead of two. Neither the existence of these four separate elements, nor the relationship between the southern addition to the hall block and the east wing, is immediately apparent. In the following account the different constructional phases and their surviving architectural features are described in chronological order.

The twelfth-century building (Fig. 2)

A rectangular east-west block survives, measuring 15.8m by 9m externally and having walls 0.9-1m thick, constructed in the main of rubble (mostly uncoursed river cobbles of various sizes) with ashlar dressings of an oolitic limestone of Lincolnshire type used sparingly for the plinth, a string course and around various openings. The south and west walls have a neat, relatively unweathered, chamfered plinth, which is stepped down beneath a doorway set in the west wall north of centre. The plinth is absent over the western third of the north wall, which may have been refaced - the central part of this wall is obscured by the addition of a later chimney stack and the eastern part is not exposed at this level.

The doorway in the west wall retains little of its external opening (now blocked up, with a seventeenth-century two-light window set in the blocking), except for the lower two stones of its southern jamb, which show a narrow chamfer. The segmental rear arch survives intact. The external sill, formed by the stepped-down section of the plinth (a similar arrangement is seen in the west doorway of the parish church, probably of the same date), shows little evidence of wear. The internal floor level, which to judge from the window positions is not far removed from the original, is considerably below the level of the plinth, so that access through this doorway would have involved the inconvenience of stepping over the plinth/threshold and then descending two or three steps to the floor.

To the south of the doorway is an original single-light twelfth-century window, the only

6. 2 August 1973, p. 5.

7. J.R. Magilton, *The Doncaster District*, 1977, pp. 44, 47.

HATFIELD MANOR HOUSE

GROUND PLAN

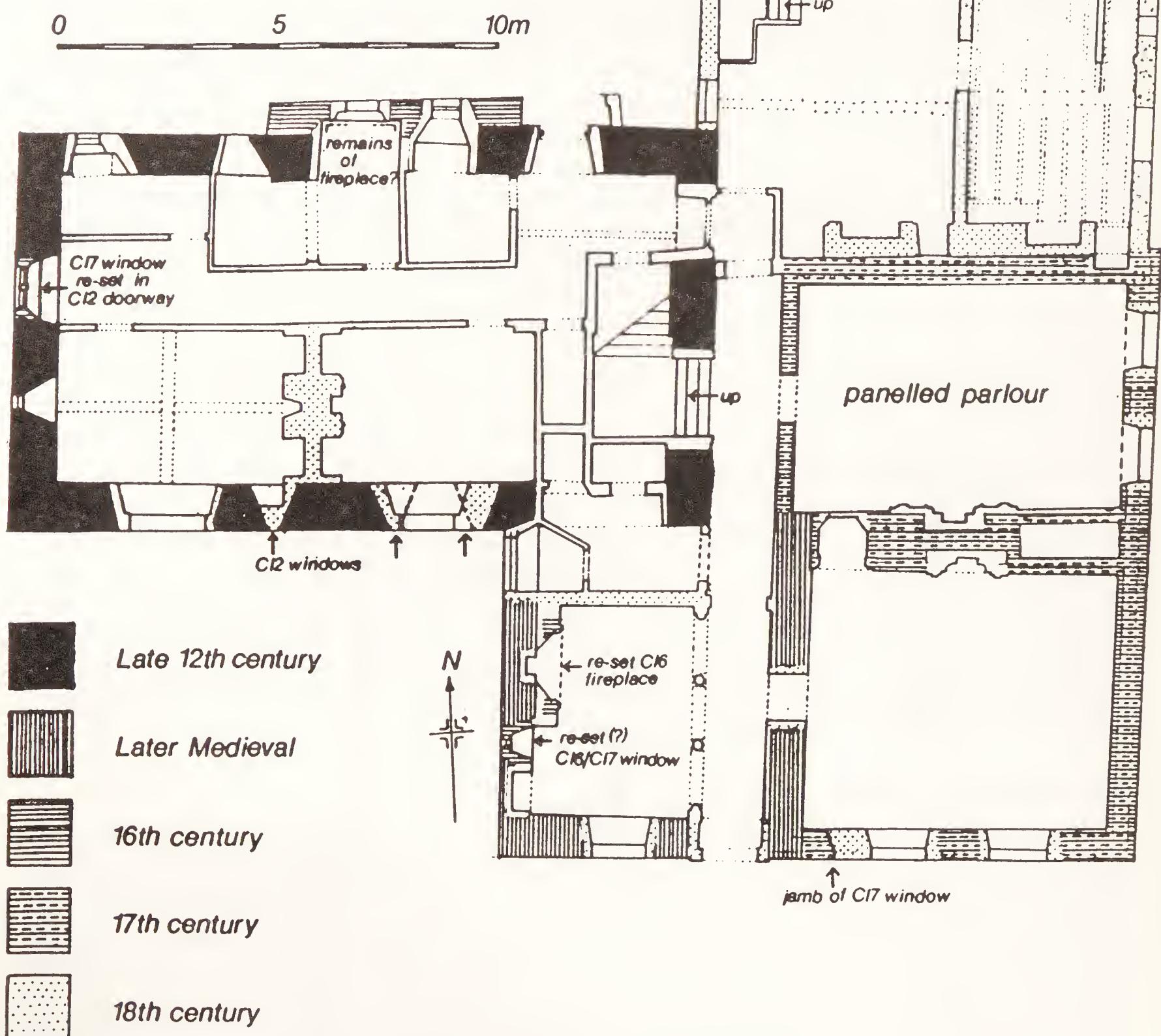


Fig. 2a. Hatfield Manor House: ground plan, 1984.

original architectural feature exposed before the recent investigation. This (perhaps with the sixteenth-century fireplace at first-floor level) appears to have been discovered and opened out in the first quarter of the present century. Its external opening, round-headed and with a continuous chamfer, is 1.0m high and 0.2m wide, its 'trefoil' head being no more than a relatively recent adaption of the form of the opening to suit its diamond-shaped glazing panels. Internally the opening splays to a round-headed rear arch 1.1m wide, with ashlar jambs and voussoirs (Fig. 3).

On the south side of the block remains of three similar windows have been uncovered, their spacing being such as to suggest that there were originally five, that nearest the west end having been removed by a later window, and that nearest the east being cut away by a later arch into the ground floor of the 'solar' addition (Fig. 4). Of the windows of which remains survive, only the western is relatively intact, its internal opening being disguised as a wall cupboard (Fig. 5). The other two have each lost half of their openings by the insertion of a later window.

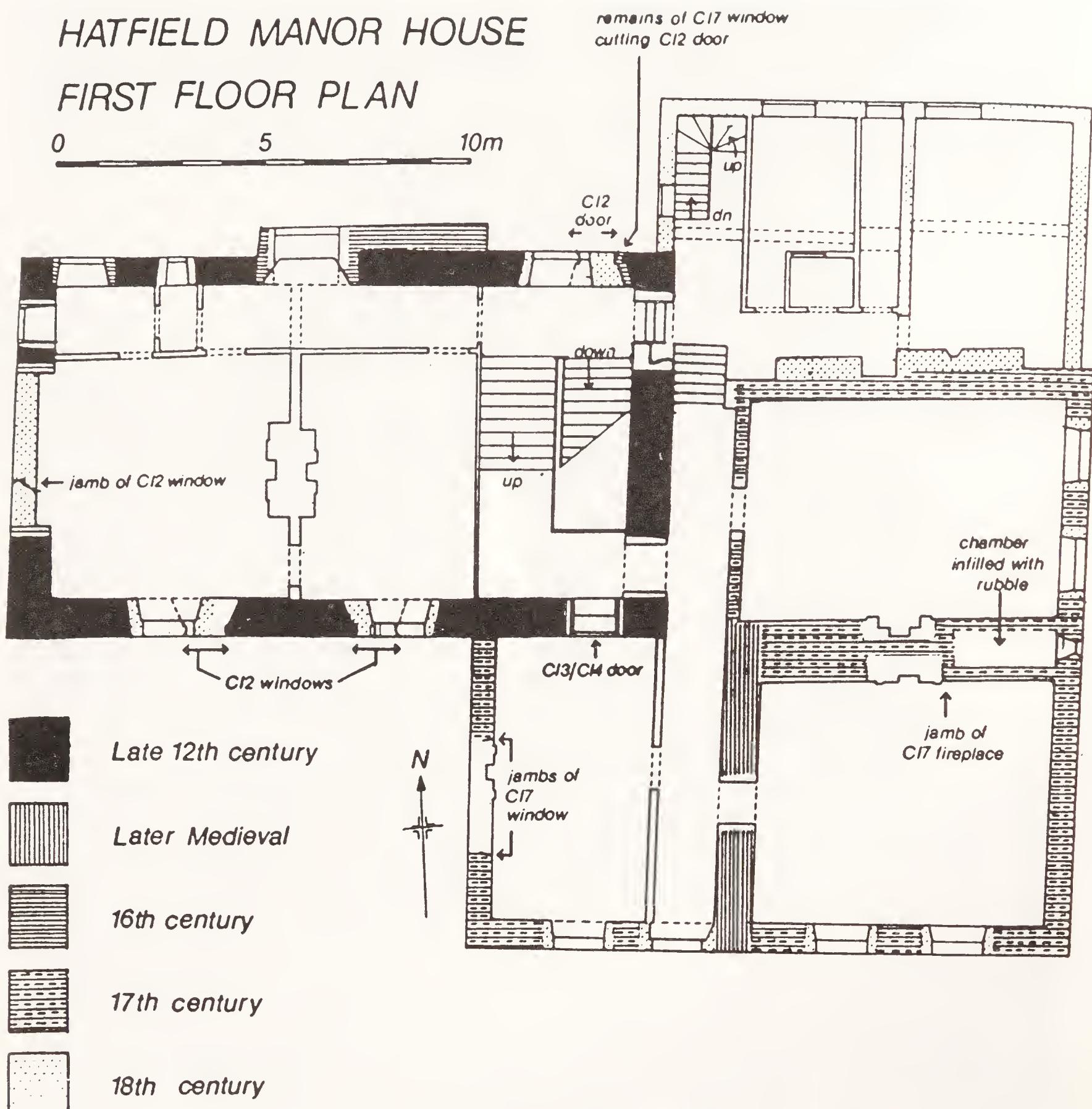


Fig. 2b. Hatfield Manor House: first-floor plan.

The original arrangements on the north side of the block are not clear. Two small ground-floor windows west of the stack may well be eighteenth-century remodellings of earlier features; the eastern has a semicircular-headed rear arch, although this is cut in rubble, in contrast to the ashlar dressings of the twelfth-century windows on the west and south. No early features are exposed in the east end of the block, which is cut through at both ground and first-floor levels by openings into the cross wing.

The external faces of the north, south and west walls all show remains of an original string course 2.34m above plinth level. This was clearly respected by earlier renderings of the wall face, but had been hacked back and rendered over, perhaps as late as the nineteenth century. The original form of the string - a broad chamfer above and below giving an almost triangular section - was only visible on the north, at the west end of the stack built up against it.

At first-floor level, remains of what appeared to be the original entrance were exposed above and a little to the east as the present ground-floor doorway. A course of well-cut



Fig. 3. Hatfield Manor House: interior of twelfth-century window in west wall of hall block.

ashlars beneath the door sill showed a socket for a timber 0.3m square. The position of a probable second beam socket can be detected by tapping the render just above the ground-floor door. These beams presumably carried either a wooden platform or the head of an external stair, giving access to the doorway. Parts of both jambs, 1.3m wide externally, survived, showing the same narrow chamfer as those of the ground-floor doorway in the west wall. Unfortunately the upper part of the opening had been removed by the insertion of a seventeenth-century window, itself cut through by the present stair window of c.1800.

Remains of two twelfth-century windows survive in the south wall, beneath the sills of the present openings. Each has been 1.04m wide, the chamfered sill of each light being separated by a square block which presumably carried the base of a cylindrical shaft dividing the light. Near the centre of the west gable the south end of the sill of another original first-floor window survives: if this was centrally placed in the gable, it would

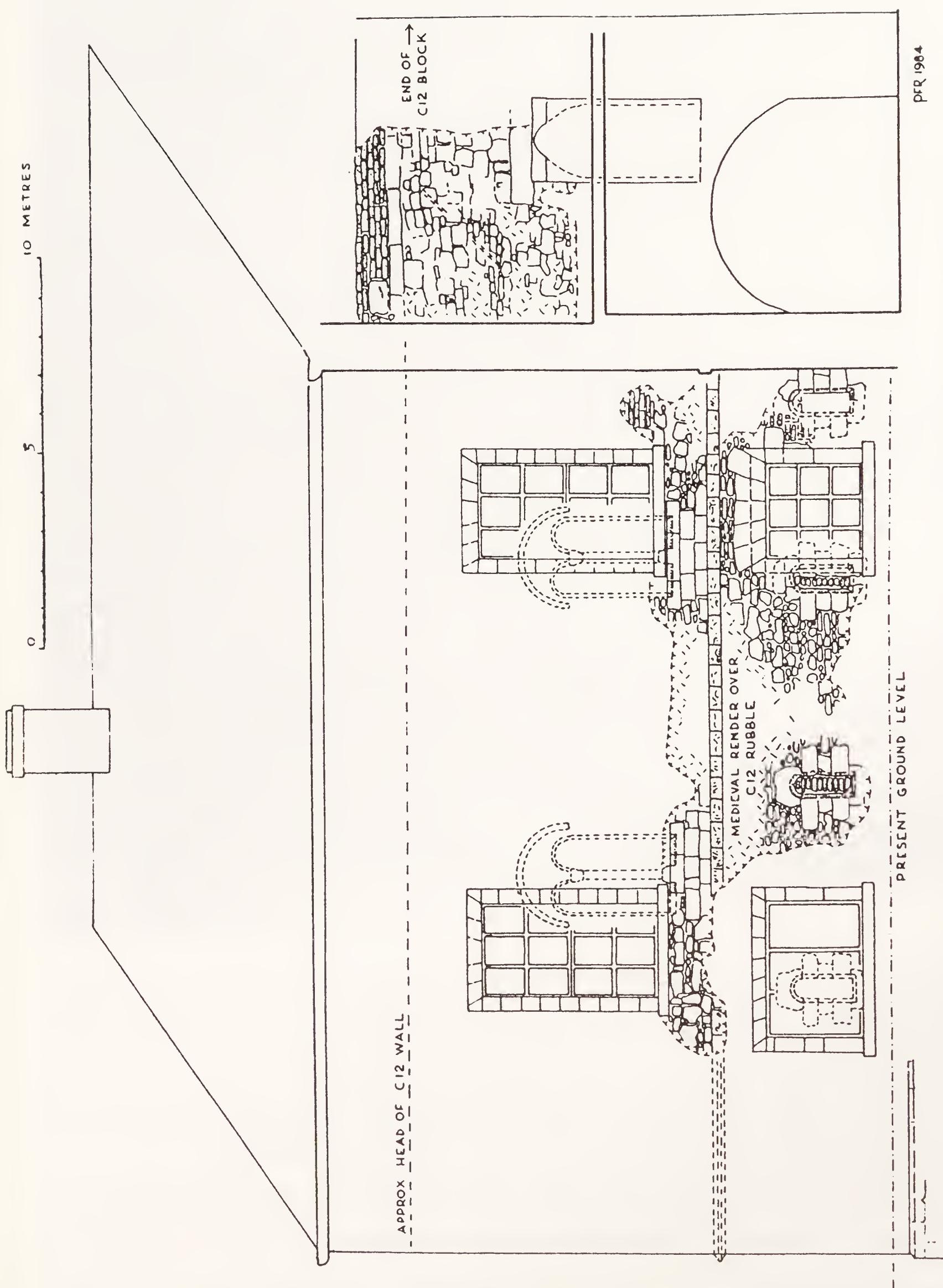


Fig. 4. Hatfield Manor House: south elevation of twelfth-century hall block with areas revealed by removal of rendering, and conjectural restoration of medieval features disclosed.



Fig. 5. Twelfth-century undercroft window on south side of hall block, revealed by removal of rendering.

appear to have been c.1.7m wide and thus perhaps of three lights. A roll-moulded voussoir built into the wall just above may be derived from its arch, and there are two similar voussoirs amongst the collection of worked stones in the garden.

The rubble of the external face of the western wall extends to a height of 6.7m above the plinth (Fig. 6), above which there are three ashlar courses. Whether these mark the wall head of the twelfth-century building or a later heightening is not clear.

No evidence for the original internal arrangements of the block is now visible, apart from the positioning of the openings already described. Possible reconstructions of the layout and function of this part of the building are discussed later.

Later medieval alterations

The present Manor House retains little evidence of the period between the original



Fig. 6. Plinth and foundations at west end of twelfth-century hall block.

construction of the stone hall block in the third quarter of the twelfth century and its Tudor remodelling, except for the southern addition, which it is tempting to equate with the 'other chamber' re-roofed in 1270/1, an identification far from certain. This addition is a rectangular block measuring 7.5m, north to south and 7m east to west. The walls are of rubble construction of two distinct thicknesses, 0.9-0.95m on the east and south up to first-floor level, and 0.7m on the west and on the south above the first floor.

The butting-up of the west wall to the south wall of the hall block, and the straight joint between the south wall of the addition and that of the east wing, show that the addition post-dates the latter but pre-dates the former. The only original architectural feature to survive is the former first-floor doorway opening from the hall block. Its head is now visible at a little above floor level from the present first-floor chamber in the addition, the opening remaining as a cavity in the thickness of the wall between two skins of brickwork. The jambs of the actual arch to the north side of the wall were partly cutaway when it was bricked up, but the upper part of the pointed head remains. Any chamfer or moulding is



Fig. 7. Arch of doorway between hall and solar blocks revealed in course of removal of plaster and brick.

hidden by the later brickwork, making the opening impossible to date: It could be of any date between the thirteenth and fifteenth century. On the south face of the wall, above the square-headed rear arch of the doorway, can be seen what appear to be traces of the weathering of a gabled roof, descending to an eaves line at about the present first-floor level. It is uncertain whether this relates to the first phase of the present structure or to an earlier (timber?) building, perhaps coeval with the hall block (Fig. 7).

The Tudor Remodelling of the Hall Block

Hatfield Manor House as it stands today is largely the product of two major remodellings of the structure, the first that of the medieval house which took place in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the second, which gave the building its present appearance, dating from the end of the eighteenth century. The thoroughness of the second remodelling, coupled with the fact that today relatively little of the fabric of the building is exposed either externally or internally, means that the visible evidence of the first remodelling is somewhat fragmentary. It would appear from both the architectural evidence and documentary sources that the first of these remodellings consisted of two separate phases, the earlier of which, in the later sixteenth century, saw the twelfth-century

hall block recast as a Great Chamber in the best Elizabethan tradition.

The Great Chamber appears to have occupied the whole first floor of the hall block, with the exception of a screened off entrance passage at the east end. The floor timbers of the Chamber remain *in situ*, carrying a plain plaster ceiling of the late sixteenth or seventeenth century which survives in part above the under-drawn ceiling of the western ground-floor room. Sections of the stepped plaster cornice and frieze (which originally seems to have carried painted decoration) remain in the attic above the present bedroom ceilings.

On the west wall the plasterwork turns into the splays of a blocked opening 3.7m wide, which remains visible as a recess in the present first-floor room. External evidence suggests that this was a large window, probably an oriel, the south side of which is marked by a straight joint between rubble masonry and eighteenth-century brickwork, overlapped at one third and two thirds height by single large ashlar blocks; these may be associated with transoms in the window, which was probably framed in wood. The central section of the wall face below the opening has a large patch of sixteenth-century brickwork, extending as far down as the head of the two-light window set into the blocking of the twelfth-century ground-floor door. The implications of this apparent repair to the wall are discussed later.

At ceiling level the window recess has been flanked by plaster scrolled corbels springing from the frieze, only fragments of which survive. Little of the frieze remains on the south, where the upper part of the wall was rebuilt in the late eighteenth century, but on the north considerable remains survive, with another corbel-like feature 8.3m from the west end of the wall, also severely cut back.

The broad chimney stack on the north side of the block is probably a sixteenth-century addition, presumably replacing an earlier stack (perhaps carried on corbels and serving the first floor only). The footings of the present stack, a broad projecting course, show it to be of one build rather than a widening of an earlier feature. A small ground-floor chamber recessed into the stack projection seems to be largely of eighteenth-century date, but in its floor the footings of an earlier recess, presumably a fireplace, remain visible. The first-floor fireplace, set at the extreme west end of the stack projection, remains in good condition. The opening, 2.1m wide, has a flat-pointed arch moulded with a sunk swelled chamfer, within a square wave-moulded frame, both mouldings terminating in a simple splay above hour-glass stops. The rear of the recess shows contemporary herring-bone brickwork.

The width of the stack projection - 5.7m - coupled with the placing of both the ground-floor and first-floor hall block fireplaces in its western half implies that it served some additional function. The De La Pryme sketch of the house in the late seventeenth century shows three tall chimneys rising above the roof of the block (Fig. 8). An examination of the



Fig. 8. Hatfield Manor House in the late seventeenth century, from a drawing attached to De la Pryme's notes.

wall top inside the attic shows the remains of two flues, formerly capped over but exposed by the collapse of their cappings. The western of these appears to be that serving the ground floor of the hall block, whilst the eastern drops only c.3m to the hearth of a blocked up fireplace with a brick arch facing north, i.e. serving the second (?) floor of a vanished wing on the north side of the block. The spacing of flues would still leave room for a fourth at the east end of the stack, perhaps to serve another hearth in the missing wing. The external face of the stack is completely rendered over.

Further evidence of a removed wing or block of building on the north side of the hall block is seen in a first-floor window, formerly a doorway, at the west end of the north wall. This has a flat-pointed head, with a simple chamfer of head and jambs stopped just above the sill. Most of the ashlar surround appears to be relatively recent restoration, apart from one or two stones. That the missing block did not extend along the full length of the north wall of the hall block can be seen from the remains of a window exposed at the extreme east end of the wall, presumably of sixteenth or seventeenth-century date. Only part of the sill and the lower section of the east jamb are visible, the opening having been largely destroyed by the insertion of the large late eighteenth-century sash window which lights the present main stair. The earlier window itself cuts through the head of the twelfth-century first-floor door, showing that the original first-floor external access to the block had been replaced by this time, perhaps by the doorway at the opposite end of the wall, described above. The only other feature in the block which may be of sixteenth-century date is a small blocked window at first-floor level at the north end of the west wall (its recess now serves as a wall cupboard internally; externally it lacks ashlar dressings, and may have been wood-framed). This may have lit a small lobby into which the adjacent doorway opened.

Seventeenth-Century Alterations and Enlargement

Documentary references to the poor condition of the Manor House in the first decade of the seventeenth century suggest that the second phase of the major remodelling to which the medieval fabric was subject did not take place until the second quarter of the century, possibly after the property passed into the hands of the Ingrams.

The major addition at this period appears to have been the East Wing, possibly replacing an earlier wing on the same site. The new wing measures 11m by 6.75m externally, with walls 0.7m thick, of brickwork faced externally with limestone ashlar. The west wall of the southern part of the wing was formed by the thicker medieval stone wall of the southern addition, its line continued further north by a much thinner brick wall between the wing proper and the corridor between it and the east end of the twelfth-century hall block.

In plan the wing consisted of two large rooms at both ground and first-floor levels, divided by an axial stack flanked by small closets and lobbies, now inaccessible except for that to the west of the stack at ground-floor level, where a square-headed door with a chamfered ashlar surround opens from the southern room into a cupboard. This may originally have been a lobby linking the two ground-floor rooms, but if so must have passed out of use before the later seventeenth-century when the northern room received its present panelling. At first-floor level there was a chamber on the east side of the stack, provided with a single-light window (with a chamfered ashlar surround) which remains visible externally, although the chamber itself appears to have been completely infilled with rubble from the roof space above. The apparent lack of evidence for a first-floor door opening into this chamber (a few courses of brickwork are visible on each side of the wall where the skirting board has been removed) suggest that it may have formed a small stair well, giving access from the ground floor direct to the attics, which may have provided servants' accommodation.

The present windows of the wing are all Georgian sashes, replacing originals which De La Pryme's sketch suggests were of mullion-and-transom cross form. The removal of a small area of render from the south west corner of the wing externally exposed the joint between the quoins of the medieval southern addition and the ashlar facing of the south wall of the wing, with at only 0.7m from the junction the west jamb of a large window.

The fireplaces in the wing are all eighteenth-century and later replacements. In the southern first-floor chamber the east jamb of the original fireplace was exposed immediately to the east of its successor, showing a double wave moulding.

De La Pryme's sketch shows that the whole house had a second, attic, floor in the seventeenth-century, with gables and steep-pitched roofs. Over the east wing the attics were lit by large windows in the south gable and two gables on the east. The old hall block may also have received an extra storey, or half storey, at this time - both north and west walls show evidence of heightening in brick above the ceiling level of the Great Chamber. The southern addition was similarly provided with an attic and a gable on the south, matching that of the adjacent east wing. Another gabled block shown on the sketch, to the west of the southern addition, appears to have been built onto the south wall of the hall block and of comparatively shallow projection. Its large mullion-and-transomed window is depicted as set at a lower level than those in the wing, i.e. at the level of the Great Chamber.

As already stated, the west wall of the southern addition and the upper section of its south wall are markedly thinner than its other walls, and may perhaps have been rebuilt during the seventeenth-century alterations. At first-floor level the internal face of the west wall shows the splayed ashlar jambs of an opening 2.8m wide, now blocked by an inserted stack. This presumably represents a broad window, perhaps an oriel. From the present roof space the tops of two brick-lined flues can be seen in the east wall of the southern addition, suggesting that in the seventeenth-century, if not before, both ground and first floors of this part of the building were served by fireplaces in their east walls.

Although the initial remodelling of the house seems to have been complete by c.1650, improvements and minor alterations continued to be made. The rather fine painted panelling in the northern ground-floor room of the east wing lacks closely dateable motifs but can probably be ascribed to the third quarter of the seventeenth century, having three tiers of large fielded panels and a chimney piece having a central mask flanked by fruit swags. The simple marble fireplace is probably a later replacement.

The Eighteenth-Century Remodelling

The major remodelling of the house which took place in the eighteenth century is difficult to date precisely. Documentary sources record a considerable expenditure upon building materials in the second and third decades of the century. Some of this doubtless relates to the construction of the courthouse and stables, but much alteration of the Manor House certainly took place in the first half of the century. Pococke visited the Manor in 1751⁸ and recorded that 'great part of the house is pull'd down', suggesting that the major works had been completed by this date, although stylistically some features of the remodelled house, e.g. the stair, might most readily be dated to the third quarter of the century or even later.

The overall effect of the remodelling was that the lofty many-gabled house shown in De La Pryme's sketch, with its tall chimneys and mullion-and-transom cross windows was replaced by the low-roofed, somewhat squat structure we see today, with sash windows and a main entrance on the south front. The attic storey and high-pitched roofs were everywhere removed and the internal arrangements considerably altered. The wing or block of building to the north of the hall block was demolished - whilst local tales of a

8. J.J. Cartwright (ed.), *The Travels through England of Dr Richard Pococke* (1751), Camden Society, p. 184.

hundred-roomed house being reduced to a fraction of its former size are doubtless an exaggeration, a substantial reduction in size would seem to have taken place.

One effect of the remodelling was to reduce the old hall block to the status of a rear wing, the principal apartments now being the spacious rooms of the Ingrams' east wing. The new south entrance opened into an entrance hall occupying the greater part of the ground floor of the medieval south addition, from which a corridor ran north, with doors on the east into the ground floor rooms of the wing and on the west onto a new main staircase set in the east end of the hall block, to end in a lobby with access to the ground floor of the hall block (and the back door) and the kitchens in the new north block. The new block added to the north end of the east range appears to have been constructed at this time. Measuring 8.4m east-west by 5.1m north-south, this has brick walls only 0.35m thick, and appears to have suffered relatively little alteration. The heavy first floor beams and joists are quite vernacular in character, and there appears to have been a smokehood set against the south wall (i.e. the external face of the north wall of the east wing) of the eastern of the two rooms into which the ground floor of the block is divided. The original door between these rooms survives, with hinges and woodwork more seventeenth than eighteenth century in character.

The block has three floors, occasioning some problems of intercommunication with the adjacent hall block and east wing. The narrow dog-leg stair in the north-west corner of the wing is probably an original feature. The low ceilings of the upper floors and the small sliding sash windows contrast with the more prestigious accommodation provided by the adjacent east wing, and suggest that the block may have been built as servants' quarters, a function previously provided by the attic storey now removed. The rather contrived access to the first floor of the block from the hall block stair, and perhaps also that from the first floor of the wing, look like later alterations. The loftier ground-floor rooms of the wing appear to have served as kitchens from the first; the construction of the block probably took place at the same time as the demolition of an earlier kitchen.

Whilst the east wing retained its internal arrangements little altered apart from the replacement of windows and fireplaces, the interiors of the hall block and southern addition were completely recast. The Great Chamber disappeared completely, to be replaced by two bedrooms divided by a new axial stack. On the ground floor beneath a corridor divided two heated rooms from a range of small chambers against the north wall. The upper part of the south wall of the block was rebuilt in brick, and the old lateral stack on the north completely disused. The new stair, at the east end of the block, was partly made out of second-hand timbers from an earlier framed partition wall. The stair itself has alternating smooth and fluted mahogany balusters, with panelled plaster walls and rather thin ceiling decoration, and is lit by a large sash window in the north wall.

The southern addition was refloored at the level of the adjacent east wing, the old doorway into the hall block being bricked up. The short north wall of the addition, which projected beyond the line of the east end of the hall block, was completely cut away to accommodate the new ground and first-floor corridors.

A circular icehouse (now infilled with rubble) which is sunk into the ground close to the north-east corner of the north block, is probably of eighteenth-century date.

The overall effect of the second remodelling was to produce a comfortable if undistinguished Georgian country house from a complex of medieval and seventeenth-century buildings, a transformation remarkable for the manner in which the earlier fabric was retained but disguised so that every evidence of antiquity disappeared.

Later Alterations

The 1854 Ordnance Survey 6 inch : 1 mile map shows that the outbuildings of the north side of the house had been constructed by then, and also indicates some sort of structure on

the west side of the southern addition, removed by 1906 (O.S. 1 : 2500 map). Internally, the entrance hall was remodelled with a three-bay arcade and a lower ceiling, and the first floor of the hall block further sub-divided. These alterations probably took place early in the present century, when several older features, concealed a century or so earlier, were again brought to light. In the hall block, the twelfth-century ground-floor window and the Great Chamber fireplace were uncovered and restored. A second very similar fireplace was re-set on the west side of the entrance hall - its original location is uncertain, but it is presumably derived from either the hall block or the southern addition. Other features reset at this time are the two-light sixteenth or seventeenth-century window inserted in the blocking of the twelfth-century doorway at the west end of the hall block and a single-light square-headed loop of similar date on the west side of the entrance hall to the south of the fireplace.

Thus with an awakening of interest in the history of the house, a little of the evidence of the nine centuries spanned by its fabric was uncovered and left open to view. The recent investigation has revealed a great deal more (especially as regards the extent of surviving twelfth-century work in the hall block) and has allowed a tentative reconstruction of the complex building history. Much though still remains concealed by render and plaster. If and when a further investigation becomes possible, the development of the building from Norman Manor house and hunting lodge to Georgian country house, a structural history of a length shared by only a handful of English domestic buildings, may be more fully reconstructed.

Summary and Discussion.

Much of the interest of Hatfield Manor House centres on the form and internal arrangements of the twelfth-century house, as little more than a handful of such buildings survive in the country. In the North of England, the only comparable domestic building of this date is Burton Agnes Old Hall.

Most of the stone-built Norman houses which survive have generally been described as first-floor halls. Hatfield conforms well with this type - a rectangular block with a large first-floor chamber, the principal access to which was usually by an external stair. As far as dimensions are concerned Hatfield, 11.2m x 5.7m internally, fits quite centrally into the range of surviving buildings of this type (c.f. Boothby Pagnell, Lincolnshire, 14.8m x 5.3m, Burton Agnes, Humberside, 12.3m x 6m, Wharram Percy, North Yorkshire, 11.6m x 5.3m, Charleston Manor House, Sussex, 11.3m x 5.5m, Hemingford Grey, Huntingdonshire, 9.4m x 5.5m, Hooton Levitt Hall, South Yorkshire, 8.3m x 5.4m).⁹

Whilst quite a number of the surviving twelfth-century stone houses, especially those in towns such as Lincoln and Southampton, do appear to have been free-standing, others may have been built as stone solar blocks to timber ground-floor halls of which little evidence now survives. Both archaeological and documentary evidence demonstrates that the early medieval manor house frequently consisted of a group of structurally-separate buildings, mostly of timber construction; the concept of having all the domestic functions contained within a single building developed later. One must beware of interpreting a structure which survives simply because it was constructed of a more durable material than its fellows, as a self-contained dwelling unit.

At Hatfield there are a number of indications that the surviving twelfth-century block stood against a contemporary, or earlier, structure to the north. The apparent absence of a plinth and of original ground-floor windows on this side of the block might suggest this (although there is some evidence that this section of wall has been partially rebuilt or

9. Dimensions from M.E. Wood, *Norman Domestic Architecture*, Royal Archaeological Institute 1974, except for Hooton Levitt Hall, from South Yorkshire Sites and Monuments Record.

refaced; this itself might well have been occasioned by the removal of an adjacent structure) and one of the postholes found in the excavated trench 'C' was of dimensions which would tally with its carrying a principal post of a substantial framed building, perhaps aisled. The blocked fireplace on the north side of the sixteenth-century stack indicates that there was a range or wing here at a later period, swept away in the eighteenth-century remodelling. Whether this was a sixteenth or seventeenth-century addition or a refashioning of an earlier structure must remain for the moment speculation; the absence of stone foundations suggests that it was of timber-framed construction.

Within the stone-built twelfth-century block, the ground floor would appear to have been an undercroft to the principal chamber above. A stone vault of the Burton Agnes type would appear unlikely here, a more probable arrangement being that suggested by the excavators of Wharram Percy¹⁰ where a central row of three stone bases are presumed to have carried timber piers. Such an arcade would have supported a heavy axial beam which in turn carried the transverse floor joists. At Midhope Hall in South Yorkshire the first floor of the fourteenth-century Courthouse, 16.2m x 6.3m internally, is carried on a single axial beam scarfed only once above a central wooden pier which would appear to have been its sole support.¹¹ The external entrance into the basement, at Hatfield in the west wall, appears a usual feature of twelfth-century domestic undercrofts. At Burton Agnes, but not at Boothby Pagnell, there was an internal stair from undercroft to first floor in addition to the main external stair. Whether such an internal stair existed at Hatfield remains uncertain. If one did, it would seem likely to have been of wooden construction.

The first-floor arrangements of the Hatfield block also remain largely conjectural. The main door, at the east end of the north wall, was gained by an external stair leading up to a platform or balcony carried on heavy projecting beams, the sockets for which survive. Following a traditional interpretation of the block as a first-floor hall, one would assume that the doorway opened into a lobby partitioned off from the main apartment by a screen. The hall was lit by a pair of two-light windows in the south wall which were probably of the typical twelfth-century form (seen at Lincoln, Boothby Pagnell and elsewhere) in which a pair of round-headed lights, divided by a central shaft, are enclosed under a semicircular arch. Stones (3) and (4) in the collection of architectural fragments found in the garden (see Appendix II), each bearing a slightly keel-shaped roll moulding, probably represent parts of the jamb and head of such a window. A similarly moulded voussoir is re-used in the west gable, close to an in-situ fragment of the sill of a third twelfth-century first-floor window which may have been of three or more lights. Whether the present first-floor mural recess in this gable predates the Tudor oriel window in this position is an unresolved question, although the twelfth-century impost block (architectural fragment (1)) might point to an impressive arched feature backing the hall dais, which one presumes would be placed at the opposite end of the apartment to the entrance and screens.

No evidence has as yet been uncovered of the twelfth-century fireplace, but it would seem reasonable to assume that this was placed in the north wall where the sixteenth-century stack is sited; the possibility that this is simply an enlargement of an earlier feature has already been noted. At ground-floor level remains of a shallow projection on the internal face of the wall might be an original feature, supporting the hearth of a fireplace backed by an external stack carried on corbels.

The various remodellings which the building has undergone has left no trace of the twelfth-century roof structure, but by analogy with that of the Jew's House at Lincoln, reconstructed at a later period but re-using many of its original members, it might be expected to be of collared common rafter form.

10. See e.g. J.G. Hurst, 'Wharram Percy', in P.H. Sawyer, *Medieval Settlement* 1976, esp. fig. 11.5.

11. P.F. Ryder, 'The Old Courthouse, Midhope Hall Farm', *Archaeol J.*, 137, (1981), pp. 460-61.

Apart from the twelfth-century block, the only other part of the present house to retain pre-sixteenth-century masonry is the southern addition, of indeterminate medieval date, its only architectural feature being the mutilated remains of a doorway with a pointed arch, at first-floor level and opening from the south end of the 'screens' of the earlier block. The weathering of a gabled roof on the external face of the twelfth-century wall at this point may relate to an earlier (timber?) building in this position. The substantial wall thickness of the southern addition, coupled with its almost square plan, might point to a tower-like structure carried up to or even above the level of the earlier block. This might represent a solar block not unlike the thirteenth-century first-floor hall and tower arrangement at Little Wenham in Suffolk. The tower solar is a not uncommon medieval form - although a solar opening off the 'low' end of the hall (if the twelfth-century arrangements still prevailed at Hatfield) is unusual. A number of North of England 'tower houses', in the past cited as self-contained dwelling units, are now seen to have been built as additions to earlier halls e.g. Hellefield Peel¹² and perhaps Paull Holme Tower near Hull¹³.

The medieval character of Hatfield Manor House must have been almost totally erased by the sixteenth and seventeenth-century remodelling of the structure, although much of the earlier fabric was permitted to survive. It is interesting to speculate whether the recasting of the twelfth-century block as a Tudor 'Great Chamber' followed the recorded earthquake damage of 1574 - certainly the patching of the central section of the west gable in early brick looks like a repair following the collapse of the central section of the wall. The overall form and layout of the house at this time, as at earlier periods, remains tantalisingly obscure.

To date detailed examination of the fabric of Hatfield Manor House has been restricted, and excavation even more so. However, enough has been revealed above ground to rank Hatfield as one of the most important early domestic buildings in the North of England, and below ground to suggest that this is a site of major archaeological importance. If and when further investigation becomes possible, both structural and stratigraphic evidences should further elucidate the site's long history.

HISTORY

Hatfield is perhaps one of the least known royal residences of Britain, by-passed even by the monumental *History of the King's Works*.¹⁴ Although royally owned for some 300 years, the largely Norman building appears to have been retained and little altered to any extent which would show up in state papers. Later rebuilding further obscured its significance to all but local historians. The historical importance of Hatfield lay not so much with the manor house or lodge itself as with its setting, a position which produced a succession of visits by members of the royal family and distinguished guests. The lodge then took on more than merely a local significance, though more recently it has withdrawn into a more parochial role.

As a village Hatfield has been quite well served by the number of its historians,¹⁵ though most have been highly derivative from (and somewhat critical of) the unpublished notes made by Abraham de la Pryme in the 1690s.¹⁶ Their concern in almost all cases has, however, been with the drainage of the surrounding moors in the seventeenth century, the

- 12. J. Birch and P.F. Ryder, 'Hellifield Peel - a North Yorkshire Tower-House', *Y.A.J.* 55 (1983), pp. 73-94.
- 13. S.M. Coleman and P.F. Ryder, 'Paull Home Tower, *East Riding Archaeologist* 7 (1983), pp. 85-90.
- 14. H.M. Colvin (gen. ed.), London 1963-82.
- 15. G. Stovin, *A History of the Drainage of the Great Levil of Hatfield Chase in the Counties of York, Lincoln and Nottingham*, Hatfield Chase Corporation Papers HCC 9111 (1750s), Manuscripts Dept., Nottingham University; Hunter, op. cit. n.1; Tomlinson, op. cit. in n.2.
- 16. A. de la Pryme, Notes on the History of Hatfield, in Warburton's Collection of Materials for the History of Yorkshire, Pt. IX, BL Lansdowne MS 897.

often jumbled coverage of earlier history being treated as a ‘preliminary’ to that event, with their sources frequently not closely identified, in the absence of calendars of state papers at the time when they were writing. The manor lodge itself has received considerably less close attention, and even now its known history involves several rather blank periods.

The tradition that Hatfield was the site of a Saxon royal palace in an early hunting reserve need not detain us.¹⁷ Nothing to support this, either as documentary evidence or as physical remains within the surviving building, has as yet come to light, though a sherd of Stamford ware found during excavation could pre-date the Norman Conquest. Such a building can, however, never be entirely ruled out without full excavation of the settlement.

Hatfield under the Warennes

The early post-Conquest history of the building and manor is both ascertainable at a general level and yet obscure in detail. In 1066 Hatfield was part of Earl Harold’s soke of Conisbrough, and in the settlement of lands on William the Conqueror’s followers, it was included in the parcel assigned to John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, centred on his castle of Conisbrough.¹⁸ It was included as such in the Domesday Book, when 8 carucates and a church and priest were recorded for Hatfield,¹⁹ and remained so joined and rarely singled out for special mention in the documents relating to the Warennes’ Yorkshire estates until the failure of the family line in the mid-fourteenth century.

The familiar general story of its overlords in this period need not concern us,²⁰ but a few clues do emerge concerning the building’s origin and use, as well as its eventual transfer to royal ownership. No trace has been found of any structure which could have been used directly by the Warennes or their masters of the game during the period from the 1080s until the mid-twelfth century. Indeed it is most likely that the motte and bailey castle in Thorne would have served most needs for a residential presence in the area and a lodge for hunting within the naturally abundantly stocked moors and wastes around Hatfield, for doubtless it was the Warennes who were responsible for putting the hunting into a more controlled framework in the form of a chase, with most of the land consequently being retained in demense.

Such architectural features as have been found on the manor site are comparable with those found at the better documented church, that is from the second half of the twelfth century. Equally no documentary trace has been found of sub-tenants who could have resided at Hatfield during the period up to the mid-twelfth century. However, the likely era of the earliest surviving structure corresponds with the earliest known sub-tenants of the manor, William, son of Raven, a Sheriff of Wakefield for the 3rd Earl Warenne in the period 1138-47.²¹ Little is known of him, save his witnessing of charters in c.1147 and 1164-c.1185,²² and the likelihood that he was no longer alive by c.1185.²³ William may have

17. See e.g. Tomlinson, op.cit., p. 44.

18. Ibid., p. 43.

19. See C.T. Clay (ed.), *Early Yorkshire Charters VIII, The Honour of Warenne*, YASRS Extra Series VI (1949), p. 138.

20. J. Watson, *Memoirs of the Ancient Earls of Warren and Surrey, and their descendants to the present time*, Warrington 1782; F.R. Fairbank, ‘The Last Earl of Warenne and Surrey’, *Y.A.J.* 19 (1907), pp. 193-264; W. Farrer, *Honours and Knights’ fees*, 1923-5: Notes on the Earldom of Surrey, in G.E. Chambers (ed.), *The complete Peerage*, 1st ed. and Appendix A, Vol. IX of new ed.; J.W. Walker, *Wakefield - its history and people*, Wakefield 1939, I, pp. 41-70; C.T. Clay, op.cit. in n. 19, pp. 1-51.

21. See Clay, op. cit., p. 83, Charter 31, and p. 242.

22. Foundation charters of Roche Abbey, *Monasticon Anglicanum* V, pp. 502-3; Clay, op.cit., pp. 111-12, Charter 67.

23. Ibid., pp. 112, 144.

married a sister of Elias de Bosville but more certainly had a daughter, Mabel.²⁴ It was on his marriage to this daughter that William gave the manor to Otes de Tilly, steward of Conisbrough in the 1170s and still living in 1188.²⁵ Mabel herself was still apparently alive in 1203, when she was acted for in a case against the countess of Warenne.²⁶ Otes de Tilly and his wife in turn gave the manor of Hatfield, twenty years before their deaths, to Henry de Novo Mercato (Neufmarché) on his marriage to their daughter Denise, who was alive in 1213, having married again after Henry's death in 1178.²⁷

From this period, when the Norman hall was probably built, nothing is then heard of the manor until the 1240s when both the manor and the advowson of Hatfield were included in the dower of Maud (néé Marshal), widow of William, 6th Earl of Warenne, who had died in May 1240.²⁸ The exemptions involved a messuage in Thorne, and the water of Brademer, where, however, Maud was given fishing rights when visiting the manor.²⁹ On her own death on 27 March 1248 the manor reverted to the holder of the honour of Warenne.³⁰

Even with sub-tenants wholly or partly resident, the principle of rendibility would not exclude intermittent use by the Warennnes as a hunting lodge. Hatfield, being some distance from both Conisbrough and Thorne, could have provided hospitality in bad weather after a long day's hunt, or for use during a hunt of several days' duration. Such a moated first-floor hall as existed at Hatfield in the later twelfth century has numerous contemporary parallels elsewhere, both among purely residential manor houses,³¹ and among purpose-built hunting lodges,³² and the two functions would most probably have been combined in an area such as Hatfield Chase.

Thorne and probably Hatfield were in turn supplemented for hunting, possibly at a slightly later date, by the moated site of Warren Lodge near Sykehouse, whose name suggests its role in the northern part of the Chase. Other more modest keepers' lodges were no doubt scattered around the Chase, especially to the east of these three sites, though no early ones have survived.

The earliest known direct reference to the manor house itself dates from 1270-1, in a damaged and partly illegible minister's account roll for the lordship of Wakefield, the possession of John, the 7th earl.³³ This records the re-roofing of the hall and of the other chamber, indicating that the tower/solar structure had already been built by then. Reference is also made to the making of 400 pegs, presumably for some form of tiling, and to drain (*cunicular*). The park fence was also repaired.

This same account contains an entry of expenses for the maintenance of the earl and the King of the Germans in 1271. The Holy Roman Emperor of this period was the 62-year old Richard, Earl of Cornwall, second son of King John, brother and often paymaster of Henry III, brother-in-law of Emperor Frederick II and of Alexander II of Scotland, godfather of Edward I, former heir to the throne and regent of England, who had been elected King of the Romans in 1257. It is known that he visited Yorkshire in early September 1271, where

24. Ibid., pp. 147, 169.

25. Ibid., p. 244, p. 143 and pp. 168-9, Charter 119.

26. Ibid., p. 148.

27. Ibid., pp. 141, 147.

28. *Close Rolls 1237-42*, London 1911, pp. 202-3, 232.

29. Clay, op.cit., pp. 25, 134. Eels were a particularly important element in these fisheries.

30. Ibid., p. 177.

31. e.g. Boothby Pagnell (Lincs), Merton Hall, Cambridge, and Hemingford Grey (Cambs), among the more complete remains.

32. e.g. Clipstone (Notts), Writtle (Essex), and possibly Kings' Langley (Oxon). Among other moated hunting lodge sites are Ladbroke in Tanworth and Lapworth Park (both Warks).

33. Ministers' Account of the Lordship of Wakefield and Castle of Sandal, the possession of John 7th Earl Warenne, Michaelmas 1270-1, Leeds City Archives Dept, transcript, p. 132.

he had held Knaresborough Castle since 1235.³⁴ He remained there for at least six days, before returning south and suffering a stroke on 12 December, from which he died the following April.³⁵ It would appear from the account that he was entertained by John de Warenne, and may thus have visited Hatfield for the hunt.

It is in the fourteenth century that the manor house more regularly comes to life in documentary form, independent of Conisbrough. Initially, however, like other Warenne properties, Hatfield manor was subject to the resettlement of his estates which the last earl sought in 1316, to accompany a divorce. The earl first granted Hatfield to the king on 29 June 1316.³⁶ The king, on 1 July, appointed Geoffrey de Scrope to take seisin of it and receive fealty from the tenants,³⁷ and the manor was reassigned to Warenne on 6 July, though for life only, the monarch reserving the disposal of the remainders.³⁸ These were assigned on 4 August to Warenne's prospective new wife, Matilda de Neirford, for her life and then to her sons.³⁹

The celebrated dispute and private war in 1317 between John, Earl of Warenne and Surrey and Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, involving the abduction of the latter's wife, Alice, led to the seizure by Thomas of the northern Warenne estates, including Hatfield, other nearby manors such as Thorne, Fishlake and Braithwell, and Conisbrough itself.⁴⁰ De la Pryme even claimed that Hatfield was plundered and wasted, set on fire, and the inhabitants driven away, though he did not state a source for this.⁴¹ The impact on the manor house is thus unclear, but the Norman hall seems to have come through unscathed.

Lancaster subsequently forced upon Warenne recognition of this change of ownership of Hatfield and the other manors, including Conisbrough, in an agreement made at Doncaster in November 1318,⁴² and royal assent to the exchange was given in January 1319, for the life of Warenne only, though not in fee.⁴³ As Maddicott points out, Lancaster rarely, if ever, visited these acquisitions subsequently, and Hatfield is not known to have welcomed him. In 1320/1, according to Dodsworth, the total income from the manor of Hatfield was as much as £222 13*s* 4*d*, though shortly to be much reduced as a result of grants and alienations.⁴⁴

With the execution of Lancaster in March 1322, the Earl of Surrey pleaded with the monarch for a reversion of his Yorkshire lands, now that they had come into the king's hands.⁴⁵ Enquiry into this obviously took some time, for the Yorkshire estates were not returned to Warenne until May 1326.⁴⁶ Initially, however, these were regranted for his lifetime only and with the specific exclusion of Hatfield (and Thorne),⁴⁷ which were left in

34. *Dictionary of National Bibliography*, Vol. 48, 1896, p. 173; *Exchequer T.R. Miscellaneous Book*, No 57, No. CCXV.
35. G.C. Gebauer, *Leben und denkwürdige Thaten Herrn Richards erwählten romischen Kaisers, Grafens v. Cornwall und Poitou*, Leipzig 1744, p. 408; Bohmer-Ficker-Winkelmann, *Regesta Imperii 1198-1273*, 1881-94, 5478-80.
36. *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1313-1318*, London 1893, p. 347.
37. *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1313-1317*, London 1898, p. 438.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 485.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 529.
40. On this dispute see Fairbank, op.cit. in n.20, esp. pp. 215-220; and J.R. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster 1307-1322* Oxford 1970, esp. pp. 234-7.
41. de la Pryme, op.cit. in n.16, p. 34.
42. Duchy of Lancaster papers DL 25/3575 and DL 42/1, f. 410. See also Fairbank, op.cit., p. 212, and Maddicott, op.cit. in n. 40, p. 235.
43. *Calandar of Patent Rolls, 1317-21*, pp. 263-4.
44. Cited by de la Pryme.
45. P.R.O. Special Collections - Ancient Petitions - SC8/174/8702b.
46. Fairbank, op.cit., pp. 215, 219-20.
47. *Calendar of Chancery Warrants, 1244-1326*, London 1927, p. 577; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward II, Vol. V, 1324-7*, London 1904, p. 270.

the interest of Maud de Neirford, who herself now running out of favour with the earl.⁴⁸

At this time of change, an audit was made of the properties formerly held by Thomas of Lancaster, which provides numerous details of expenditure on building work, including some at Thorne. Of Hatfield manor, however, it is merely recorded that the bailiff was paid at the rate of £6 16d for the period 5 April 1322 to 14 February 1323, though this was not to be allowed until the certificates were shown to be genuine.⁴⁹ A defective and defaced inquisition of these same properties dated 7 March 1327, in the first year of the new king, Edward III, provides an extent of Hatfield manor, described as being ‘held of the king’s chief by service of a knight’s fee’, and refers to a windmill belonging to it, as well as to the park.⁵⁰

Although the manors of Hatfield and Thorne had an obvious appeal for retention as a royal hunting ground, John de Warenne clearly continued to press a claim with the new king for their reversion to himself. Witness to this is an order of 21 April 1327 to the escheator beyond the Trent not to meddle with these properties, ‘which the Earl of Surrey and Sussex claims to hold as his right and inheritance’ and which ‘ought to remain in the King’s hand ... until further order by the King and council’.⁵¹ By June 1330 Warenne’s claim had been accepted (at least for his lifetime), for this complaint of the breaking into this park and chase at Hatfield then led to a commission of inquiry.⁵² In March 1331 permission was granted to him to lease to tenants areas of the wastes of manors, including Hatfield,⁵³ which he lost no time in doing.⁵⁴ Indeed after his death his zeal was to be criticized as having gone beyond the permits granted,⁵⁵ and much of the land was recovered through the court of King’s Bench.⁵⁶

One such grant of land within the regained manor, made by Warenne to ‘his sarjeant, Henry de Kelsterne, his larderer’ was actually dated at Hatfield on 27 January 1332, where it was witnessed by Sir William Fraunk, Sir Thomas de Neirford, Sir William de Warenne, Roger Saleman, John de Wormele, John de Doncaster, Richard Martyn and others.⁵⁷ De Wormele and Martyn themselves were subsequently among recipients of land within the manor,⁵⁸ as was John de Warenne’s illegitimate son, William, who acquired 122 acres at a rent of 10s, royally assented to in January 1340.⁵⁹

In the meantime, on 30 March 1332, William de Scargill, newly returned from the war in Scotland, was appointed chief forester for life of the chases of Wakefield and

48. Fairbank, op.cit., p. 219.

49. *Calendar of Memoranda Rolls, 1326-1327*, London 1968, p. 319.

50. *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Vol. VII, Edward III*, London 1909, pp. 57-8. See however the comment on this apparently additional assessment, independent of conditions applying to all the Warenne lands in Clay, op. cit. in n.19, p. 140.

51. *Calendar of Fine Rolls, Vol. IV, Edward III, 1327-1337*, London 1913, p. 33. A similar order went to Simon de Grimsby, escheator ‘this side’ of the Trent on 1 May 1327: *Calendar of Close Rolls, 1327-1330*, London 1896, p. 79.

52. *Cal. Pat. R. 1327-1330*, London 1891, p. 563.

53. ‘Wastes in the castles and manors of Conyngesburgh, Sandhale, Haitfeld, Wakefeld, Thorn and Squiresbyshire, which he holds of the King for life, to the value of 200L a year’: *Calendar of Fine Rolls, Vol. IV, Edward III, 1327-37*, London 1913, p. 245.

54. e.g. *Calendar of Fine Rolls, Vol. IV, Edward III, 1327-37*, London 1913, pp. 255, 286, 338 etc. Others in *Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1334-8*, London 1895, pp. 42, 45, 113, 323, 328; *Cal. Pat. R. 1338-40*, London 1898, pp. 411, 468; *Cal. Pat. R. 1340-43*, London 1900, p. 12; and *Cal. Pat. R. 1345-8*, London 1903, p. 156.

55. *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem, Vol. XII, Edward III*, London 1938, pp. 50, 51; *Cal. Pat. R. 1348-50*, London 1905, p. 63; and *Cal. Pat. R. 1361-4* London 1912, p. 527.

56. *Cal. Pat. R. 1358-61*, London 1911, p. 128. There was an inquiry in 1362 into lands, pastures and tenements pertaining to the manor of Hatfield.

57. Confirmed by the king, 25 August 1342: *Cal. Pat. R. 1340-43*, London 1900, pp. 511, 12. Kelsterne received a further grant in 1346: *Cal. Pat. R. 1345-48*, London, 1903 p. 156.

58. *Calendar of Fine Rolls, 1327-37*, London 1913, pp. 338, 342.

59. *Cal. Pat. R. 1338-40*, London 1898, p. 411.

Sowerbyshire being also charged with survey of the chases, parks and warrens in 'Haitfeld, Thorne and Conesburgh'.⁶⁰ In this role, for which he was paid 4d per day, he doubtless had occasion to visit the manor house, perhaps meeting with John Trulove, named as parker of Hatfield, in 1324/5.⁶¹

Royal residents

Royal interest in Hatfield did not, however, decline with the change in ownership, and Warenne was to be host at the manor house to some, at least, of the royal household (and possibly to the king himself) on 6 May 1335, when orders were issued at Hatfield. That this was Hatfield in Yorkshire is indicated by documents approved from Clipston, Nottinghamshire and Cowick, Yorkshire (by privy seal), and from Cowick and York immediately afterwards (by the king).⁶² However, Hatfield was very soon to witness an event of more than local interest, though of little lasting consequence, the birth of a son, William, to Edward III and his queen, Philippa of Hainault.

On his birth a contemporary chronicle records that the king and queen spent Christmas at Hatfield, where the queen bore a son, received from the font by the Archbishop of York, William de Melton, and given the same Christian name.⁶³ The patent Rolls confirm that the king was indeed in the area at this time, having left Bothwell Castle in Scotland on 16 December 1336, issuing documents at Pontefract on 20 December and from Doncaster on 23 December, arriving in London early in January 1337.⁶⁴ Thoresby claimed that on William's birth Queen Philippa gave 5 marks to the nearby abbey of Roche and 5 nobles to the monks there, though the suggested reason for this payment, later transferred to the church of York, was disputed by Hunter.⁶⁵ Certainly the tradition of the prince's birth was well established locally by 1751, when Pococke recorded that 'they pretend to show the room in the manor house in which he was born'.⁶⁶

Furthermore, in the royal accounts for 1335-6 we read that the king owed £200 to John of Cologne for a bed made 'against the confinement of the Lady Philippa ... of green velvet, embroidered in gold, with red screen, bearing a shield with the arms of England and Hainault'.⁶⁷ William was Edward III's second son, born after Edward (15 June 1330), Isabel (1332) and Joan (1335), but before Lionel (29 November 1338). A date for his birth around Christmas 1336 is probable and generally accepted.

There has also been doubt about the date of his death, with years suggested from 1335 to 1349.⁶⁸ His tomb in York Minster depicts a child of perhaps ten years, but only the local historians de la Pryme and Stovin seem to have suggested that William also died at

- 60. Confirmed by the king, 28 July 1332: *Cal. Pat. R. 1330-1334*, London 1893, p. 458.
- 61. Hatfield Court Roll, Leeds City Archives Department, DB 205.
- 62. *Cal. Cl. R. 1333-37*, London 1898, p. 483.
- 63. *Gesta Edwardi de Carnarvan, Auctore Canonico Bridlingtoniensi cum Continuatione ad A.D. 1377*, in W. Stubbs (ed.), *Chronicles of the reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, London 1883, Vol. II, p. 128.
- 64. *Cal. Pat. R. 1334-38*, London 1895, pp. 341, 343.
- 65. Thoresby, *Ducatus Leodiensis*, London 1715, p. xiv, repeated by e.g. *Magna Britannia et Hibernia Antiqua et Nova*, London 1731, Vol. VI, p. 437, and J.H. Aveling, *The History of Roche Abbey from its foundation to its dissolution*, Worksop 1870, p. 53. The sum was later transferred to the Church of York and was apparently still paid in the 1690s and 1730s by the Duke of Devonshire to the Archbishop, Dean and Chapter of York out of the impropriation of the church of Hatfield: de la Pryme, op. cit. in n. 16, p. 43 and F. Drake, *Eboracum - Or the History and Antiquities of the City of York*, London 1736, p. 490. Hunter, *op. cit.* in n. 1, p. 155.
- 66. J.J. Cartwright (ed.), *The Travels through England of Dr. Richard Pococke* (1751), Camden Society, p. 184.
- 67. G.G. Coulton, *Chaucer and his England*, London 1927 (4th ed.), p. 184.
- 68. See e.g. L. Beckett and A. Hornack, *York Minster*, London 1981, p. 47; H.M. Colvin et al., *The History of the King's Works*, Vol. I, 1963, p. 486; A.D.H. Leadman, 'The Battle of Wakefield', *Y.A.J.* XI (1891), p. 350; J.H. Harvey, *The Black Prince and his age*, London 1976, p. 59. The tomb has been suggested as a later commission carried out in the south: see E.S. Esdaile, 'Sculpture and Sculptors in Yorkshire', *Y.A.J.* XXXV (1940-43), p. 366.

Hatfield, perhaps 'within a few weeks' of his birth,⁶⁹ Aveling seems to have been the first to have produced documentary evidence shedding light on this: a royal charter making provision from the church at Hatfield to support thirteen monks at Roche Abbey to celebrate divine service daily in perpetuity 'for the soul of William our son who lately died in the said manor'.⁷⁰ Dated 22 November 1345, this points to the possibility that William died, if not at birth, then fairly soon afterwards, perhaps without even leaving Hatfield.

However, the most direct evidence, previously overlooked, is a grant of £10 yearly to Anne or Amy of Gloucester, the nurse of both William and his sister Joan, dated 6 March 1337 and referring to 'William, his (the king's) son, now deceased'.⁷¹ Presumably the nurse had attended the birth and stayed with the child during his short life - born in December 1336, dead by March 1337 - a life presumably spent largely, if not entirely, at Hatfield.

As with the other Warenne properties, arrangements were put in hand in the 1340s to meet the increasing likelihood of Earl John's death without a legitimate heir. A royal charter of 1345 relates the provision made for Hatfield manor: 'after the death of the said Earl and the said manor with the appurtenances, with remainder to Matilda de Feyrford (*sic, recte* Neirford) for the term of her life, and after the death of the said Matilda, to John de Warren, son of the said Matilda, and the heirs male of his body issuing, to Thomas brother of the said John and the heirs male of his body issuing, and after the decease of the said Thomas, if he die without heir male of his body issuing, and if the said earl die without heir of his body issuing, then the said manor with appurtenances, to revert entirely to our said father (Edward II) and his heir...'.⁷² Thus Hatfield Manor House was still destined to follow in the line of Maud de Neirford, the last earl's mistress. However, as this same charter went on to point out, she had recently died and her sons had entered the Hospitallers' monastic order. New arrangements were thus being sought from the king.

Under these, in default of a legitimate heir, the earl's new companion, Isabel de Holande (daughter of Robert de Holande of Lancashire) was to become the inheritress of his lands, including Hatfield - at least for her lifetime, when at her death it would have reverted to the king. However, royal approval was not forthcoming for this proposal and on 12 December 1346 the grant to Isabel was revoked, to avoid violence to the king's own good faith and conscience.⁷³ Hatfield manor was now to revert directly to the Crown on Warenne's demise. The earl died on 30 June 1347 and from then until 1628 the manor house was to remain in royal hands.

It is, however, notable that subsequent records of any royal expenditure on the building appear to be entirely lacking,⁷⁴ and it was presumably in this period that the manor house eventually lapsed into the role of being a rather intermittently used royal hunting lodge - one among many - or a stopping-off point en route from London to the north, and in particular to York, though still the centre of a manor. These non-manorial roles it was to perform quite actively, however, in the first century of royal ownership, but with increasing irregularity thereafter.

One of the first acts of the royal administration of Hatfield was the appointment (by the king at Calais) of Robert de Maule as keeper for life of the park and chase, as well as the

69. de la Pryme, op.cit. in n. 16, p. 42; G. Stovin, op.cit. in n. 15, Pt. 1, p. 2.

70. Aveling, op.cit. in n. 65, p. 113. See also A.H. Thompson and C.T. Clay (eds), *Fasti Parochiales*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, Y.A.S.R.S. LXXXV (1933), p. 130; *Cal. Pat. R., 1345-1348*, London 1903, p.16.

71. *Cal. Pat. R., 1334-38*, London 1895, p. 388. A renewal of this grant, and a change of its source, occurred in Oct. 1348: *Cal. Pat. R., 1348-50*, London 1905, p. 198.

72. *Cal. Pat. R., 1345-1348*, London 1903, p. 16.

73. *ibid.*, p. 221.

74. This doubtless accounts for its absence from Colvin, op. cit. in n. 68.

fishery, on the same terms as his predecessors.⁷⁵ Shortly after this, on 24 July 1347, an inquest was taken at Hatfield, as at other former Warenne possessions, and an extent drawn up which provides some indication of the environment around the manor house at that time.⁷⁶ It included 'a meadow called 'Bradholm', occasionally flooded, and a park with deer, in which there is no pannage on account of the great age of the oaks. There was formerly pannage outside the park, but now there are no oaks there. The common pasture between Torne and Don is sometimes flooded at the time of agistment. The tenants pay 6 quarters 3 pecks of rye for licence not to grind at the mills of Conisbrough. There are ... a common oven (and) a garden lay by the church', itself near the manor house.

Hatfield manor was very soon granted (along with other former Warenne lands beyond the Trent) to Edward III's six-year old son, Edmund of Langley,⁷⁷ although, as he was still under age, the lands were temporarily entrusted to the queen herself. With this further change of control we find the Abbot of Roche, parson of Hatfield church (one of those who had previously benefited from Warenne grants respecting the chase and park attached to Hatfield manor house), requesting a renewal of the right to have in tithes one oak tree from the park or woods, sixteen great animals, the right to have all the swine of their demense in the woods and one stick of eels in the waters of Braithmere and Newfleet. Apparently the queen's bailiffs at the manor were preventing the collection of these tithes, which formerly had gone to the parson of Hatfield.⁷⁸

Among those appointed to a commission of inquiry into the matter by royal decree of 4 July 1348 was William de Estfeld the younger,⁷⁹ who was himself to become steward of the lordship of Hatfield under Edmund of Langley, as indicated on his tomb in Tickhill church (he died 24 December 1386).⁸⁰ He also held the posts of steward of the lordship of Holderness and of the honour of Tickhill under Queen Philippa.

While poaching, illicit taking of game, and breaking the bounds of the park and chase at Hatfield led to numerous commissions of oyer et terminer throughout the fourteenth century, as for instance in 1352,⁸¹ these offences in 1356 came from an unusual source. Edward Balliol, King of Scotland in 1332 and for periods between 1333 and 1346, had moved south of the border, finally surrendering his claim to the crown and realm to Edward III on 20 January 1356. Thereafter he seems to have resided for a time at Hatfield manor in 1356 and later at nearby Wheatley Hall.⁸² Wheatley by Doncaster, a manor house licenced to be crenellated in 1311, was probably where he died in 1364,⁸³ though that event has also been claimed for Hatfield.⁸⁴ Balliol's association with the area derived from his mother Isabella (d. before 23 October 1295), the daughter of John de Warenne, 7th Earl of Surrey (c. 1235-1304), in whose custody and that of his son, John (1304-17), he was from c. 1299 to 1310.⁸⁵ Balliol's attention, while in South Yorkshire, obviously turned to the sport available in the chase, for on 19 October 1356 pardon was granted at his own request

75. *Cal. Pat. R., 1345-1348*, London 1903, p. 544.

76. *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, Vol. XII, Edward III, London 1938, p. 434.

77. See e.g. *Cal. Inqu. Post Mortem*, Vol. IX, Edward III, London 1916, p. 50.

78. *Cal. Pat. R., 1348-50*, London 1905, p. 164.

79. *Ibid.*

80. He was also commissioned in 1364 to enquire into John de Warenne's alienation of more land in Hatfield than had been licenced (*Cal. Pat. R., 1361-4*, London 1912, p. 527), into breaking of parks, including Hatfield in October 1367 (*Cal. Pat. R., 1367-70*, London 1913, p. 51), into banks and ditches in Hatfield lordship, November 1367, and to investigate a breaking of park bounds with violence, in May 1368 (*ibid.*, pp. 59, 141).

81. *Cal. Pat. R., 1350-54*, London 1907, pp. 288, 388.

82. E. Miller, *The History and Antiquities of Doncaster and its vicinity*, Doncaster 1804, p. 205.

83. *The Dictionary of National Biography* (Vol. III, 1885, p. 65) gives 1367, but a Yorkshire Inquisition gives his death as January 1364 - P.R.O. Sheriff's Accounts, E.199. 49.47.

84. J.N. Worsfold, *History of Haddlesey*, London 1894, p. 108, which offers no source for such a claim.

85. *Northumberland County History*, Vol. VI, 1902, pp. 68, 70, 73.

to 'certain nobles and others of the district who hunted and fished in his company while staying at Haytefield, Yorkshire'.⁸⁶ Between them they managed to kill sixteen harts, six hinds, eight stags, three calves and six roes, apparently in the chase, eight does, a souren and a sourell in the park, as well as fishing out from the ponds two pike of 3½ feet in length, three of 3 feet, twenty of 2½ feet, twenty of 2 feet, fifty pickerells of 1½ feet, six of 1 foot, plus 109 perch, roach, tench and skelys, six bream and bremettes. He was to gain pardon for similar actions elsewhere in Yorkshire.

The manor house/hunting lodge, later to acquire from some topographers the sobriquet of 'palace', apparently justified the title at this time as being a residence occupied by members of the royal family for a prolonged stay rather than for a brief visit purely for hunting. While it has been suggested that Elizabeth, Countess of Ulster, possibly spent the winter of 1356 there,⁸⁷ the surviving remnant of her household account shows that she did indeed spend much of the winter of 1357/8 in residence at Hatfield manor.⁸⁸ Elizabeth had been since 1352 the wife of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the next son of Edward III and Queen Philippa after the death of William of Hatfield and at the time of her visit would have been about 25 years old.⁸⁹

The account reveals her to have travelled from London and Windsor to Woodstock in Oxfordshire, then on to Doncaster, and finally to Hatfield, where she arrived in July 1357. In the absence of expenses in the account or in other documents indicating her presence elsewhere, it seems possible that she stayed until March 1358. However, as a rich heiress in her own right, Elizabeth was well able to support her own body of attendants, and these personal accounts may indicate periods when she was living apart from her husband and thus not part of a joint household. This would explain some chronological gaps in the account and could indicate that her presence at Hatfield in July and December 1357, and possibly as late as March 1358, did not involve a totally continuous stay.

It is not in fact clear from the account whether Prince Lionel accompanied her on this visit, although it is entirely probable that he did, if the whole nine-month period was taken up at Hatfield. He may have celebrated his nineteenth birthday there on 29 November, as well as being present at Christmas time. Whether or not Lionel or their daughter, Philippa, were at the manor for any length of time, the countess's other company was outstanding in people with bright futures. One of her underlings there was Geoffrey Chaucer, then probably around 17 years old and the recipient of 2s 6d for necessaries at Christmas.

Also apparently present in this youthful group of revellers, at least in early January 1358, was Lionel's 17-year old unmarried brother, John of Gaunt, then Earl of Richmond, for Countess Elizabeth is recorded as giving New Year gifts of 13s 4d to his cook, John, and clerk of the kitchen, Peter de With. For Chaucer and Gaunt this may well have been the beginning of their lifelong association.⁹⁰

Other events of this Christmas period at Hatfield recorded in the accounts include letters being brought by one Stephen Low from Robert Savage in Ireland on 20 December, for which 6s 8d was paid; a letter brought on the same day by a servant of Henry, Duke of Lancaster, from the duke's daughter, Blanche, soon to be John of Gaunt's first wife, for which 2s 6d was paid; and payment of 12d, also on 20 December, to a servant for escorting

86. *Cal. Pat. R., 1354-58*, London 1909, p. 483; J. Bain (ed.), *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, Vol. III, 1307-57, Edinburgh 1887, p. 295 and Rymer, *Foedera*, Vol. III, p. 341.

87. E.A. Bond, 'Chaucer as Page in the Household of the Countess of Ulster' in *Life Records of Chaucer III*, Chaucer Society 2nd ser., No. 21 (1886), p. 98.

88. BL Additional MS. 18,632.

89. *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 33, 1893, p. 336.

90. See e.g. W. Skeat, *The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, Oxford 1894, Vol. I, p. xvii; R.S. Loomis, *A Mirror of Chaucer's World*, Princeton 1965, p. 18; M.M. Crow and C.C. Olsen, *Chaucer's Life Records*, Oxford 1966, p. 18; J. Gardner, *The Life and Times of Chaucer*, New York 1977, p. 95; and S. Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, Westminster 1904, pp. 10-11.

Philippa Panettaria, one of the Countess's companions, from Pullesdown (*sic*) to Hatfield. Another grant of money was made at this time to a servant of Joan, Lady Mowbray the sister of the countess's mother, for bringing five horses from Axholm, Sir John Mowbray's residence, via Blyth because of ice on the direct route. On 3 January a servant, Nicholas Gernoun, was paid 3*s* 4*d*, having come on unknown business from Campsey Priory in Suffolk, where the countess's mother was a nun.

Bond suggests that the countess may have returned to Hatfield at Lent in 1359, when a mourning cloak was provided for her in April,⁹¹ but the account does not specify where. Prince Lionel, and presumably his wife, were present at John of Gaunt's wedding at Reading on 14 May.

The later fourteenth century

The scale of some of the events at Hatfield manor, and especially the royal Christmas celebrations, would indicate that the original simple two-storeyed stone hall had been supplemented by other structures. The hall block could have been built up into a full-scale courtyard house with the other buildings constructed of timber framing, now long since removed or replaced. Parallels for such a development are not, however encountered, though the few surviving Norman halls not in castles make any generalization impossible. It was certainly a more common development in the case of late thirteenth and fourteenth-century halls, where the transition was occurring from first-floor to ground-floor halls. No certain features have been located at Hatfield to indicate such a development.

Another possibility lies in the retention of the Norman hall as the cross-wing to a new ground-floor hall, perhaps with a matching cross-wing at the other end - thus forming a house of the familiar H-plan - all of this new work being timber-framed. Parallels for this type of development may be sought more readily, as for example in Little Chesterford Manor, Essex, where the original stone hall of c. 1225 was, however, a little later than that at Hatfield.⁹² Again little evidence survives to support this hypothesis. A third scenario seems the most likely: the first-floor hall was supplemented, possibly in the thirteenth century, with a solar block or tower, unusually built on at the lower end of the hall.

The manor was still held by Queen Philippa prior to transfer to her son, Edmund of Langley (born 1341), on his coming of age. In November 1358 Hatfield was referred to as a manor granted to Edmund, together with alienated wastes lately recovered through the King's Bench,⁹³ and in July 1361 reference was made to a period when lands of the late John de Warenne were formerly in the hands of the queen.⁹⁴

The 30-year old Prince of Wales may have hunted at Hatfield and stayed at the manor in 1360, for in July of that year one of his company, Henry, son of Henry atte Helde of Alkele, was pardoned for crimes of theft committed in Doncaster and for 'breaking' the park of 'Haytefeld, co. York'.⁹⁵ However, orders were issued in Edward's name from London in July 1360.⁹⁶ Breaking of the bounds of the park, chase and warrens at Hatfield were apparently common occurrences at this time and several more commissions of enquiry

91. Bond, op.cit. in n. 87, p.100.

92. See Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, *Essex*, Vol. I, London 1916, pp. 173-5; M. Wood, *Thirteenth-Century Domestic Architecture in England*, Royal Archaeol. Inst. Monograph, 1950, pp. 19-21; N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Essex*, Harmondsworth 1965, pp. 275-6; J. T. Smith, 'Medieval Aisled Halls and their Derivatives', in J. T. Smith, P.A. Faulkner and A. Emery, *Studies in Medieval Domestic Architecture*, Royal Archaeol. Inst., 1975, p. 34; and C.A. Hewett, 'Aisled Timber Halls and related buildings, chiefly in Essex', *Trans. Ancient Monuments Soc.*, NS 21 (1975-6), pp. 63-4.

93. *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1358-61, London 1911, p. 128.

94. *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1361-64, London 1912, p. 72.

95. *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1358-61, p. 393.

96. *The Register of Edward, the Black Prince*, Part II. London 1931, pp. 170-71; Part III, 1932, pp. 386-92; Part III, 1933, pp. 352-6.

were reported in 1361, 1362 and 1364, the latter involving among others John Lang and John de Stratherne, two former servants of Edward Balliol.⁹⁷ Violence appears to have flared in similar incidents in 1368, 1370, 1374 and 1375, though it is not clear what occurred specifically at Hatfield, as it is merely listed among the Earl of Cambridge's (Edmund of Langley) various northern parks.⁹⁸

On 1 February 1369 Robert de Moreton was appointed by Edmund as chief bailiff for life of the manor and lordship of Hatfield, an appointment later confirmed by Richard II on 27 October 1383.⁹⁹ As bailiff he could well have resided at the manor house. In November 1372 Sir Lionel Dautry, a knight of Earl Edmund, was granted £40 yearly for life out of the issues and profits of the manor and lordship.¹⁰⁰

As a royal possession, the manor house and its occupants were not reflected in the Poll Tax returns of 1379, though among 54 married couples, twelve single men and three women of the town of Hatfield who all paid 4d, were Thomas atte Hall and Alice, his wife, presumably retainers at the manor house.¹⁰¹ The former owners were also recalled by the names of two other tax payers, Alan and Thomas Waren.

Robert de Moreton was promoted on 20 March 1379 to steward for life of Edmund of Langley's lands in Yorkshire and granted £20 yearly from this office, a change again confirmed by the new king in October 1383.¹⁰² It is probable that Edmund, Earl of Cambridge since 1362, stayed at Hatfield manor on and around 1 January 1381, when letters of his are dated from there, retaining Camoys Mavow as one of the esquires of his chamber.¹⁰³ The hunt was doubtless the attraction for such royal visits: indeed, it was said of Edmund that he did not seek to be a 'lord of great worldly riches' and that 'when all the lordes to councell and parlyament went, he wolde to hunte and also to hawekyng'¹⁰⁴

A commission of oyer and terminer in 1392 to investigate alleged breaking of the parks at Wakefield, Conisbrough, Sandal and Hatfield by Robert de Feere, Achilles Bosvill and others was unusual in having its work taken over by the king in April 1393, though the outcome is not clear.¹⁰⁵

Edmund of Langley, who had become Duke of York on 6 August 1385 and acted as regent for the third time in 1399, died on 1 August 1402 and was succeeded as duke and holder of Hatfield by his son Edward (born c. 1373). Soon afterwards, on 26 April 1404, the duke granted his yeoman John Horn the office of parker of his park at Hatfield and keeper of the manor there for life, receiving for his fee 1½d daily from the revenues of the manor and lordship, together with the accustomed profits and commodities. At the same time Horn was granted a tenement in Hatfield, with a meadow called Martin Ing within the lordship and an annuity of £6 6s 4d from the manor revenues.¹⁰⁶

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries

During the fifteenth century administrative control of the manor house frequently changed hands as a reward for service.¹⁰⁷ The future Edward IV may have been conceived

97. *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1361-64, 1912, pp. 72, 149, 525.

98. *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1367-70, London 1913, pp. 141, 419; *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1370-74, London 1914, p. 489; *Cal. Pat. R.* 1374-77, London 1916, p. 154.

99. *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1381-5, London 1897, p. 320.

100. *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1370-74, London 1914, p. 232.

101. 'Rolls of the Collectors in the West Riding of the Lay Subsidy (Poll Tax) 2 Richard II, Wapentake of Strafforth', *Y.A.J.* 7 (1882), pp. 12-13.

102. *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1381-85, London 1897, p. 320.

103. *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1405-08, London 1907, p. 16.

104. *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 32 (1892), p. 111.

105. *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1391-6, London 1905, p. 86; *Cal. Cl. R.*, 1392-6, London 1925, p. 55.

106. *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1405-08, London 1907, pp. 40, 41 (confirmed 26 August 1405).

107. *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1401-05, London 1905, pp. 499, 500; *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1413-16, London 1910, p. 388 (grants of office of bailiff and master forester to Robert de Morton in 1403 and to Robert Waterton in 1405).

there in 1441, if a note by William Worcester refers to the Yorkshire Hatfield, and his elder brother Henry was born there on 10 February 1441.¹⁰⁸ Although de la Pryme claimed that the manor was granted to Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, c. 1445, and it was confiscated by the king in 1459, because of the Duke of York's rebellion, its lordship returned permanently to the Crown when Edward of York became king in 1461,¹⁰⁹ From 1509 to 1545 the income from the manor was assigned to pay troops in garrison at Berwick upon Tweed.¹¹⁰ In 1536 Sir Bryan Hastings, Sheriff of Yorkshire, used it as a base for operations against the Pilgrimage of Grace, and the Duke of Norfolk also stayed there in December.¹¹¹

Leland's description, made soon afterwards, is not entirely reliable, since he ignores the stone hall, writing that 'the logge or manor place is but meanely builded of tymber'. His account of the chase and park is accurate enough: 'the quarters about Heathfield be forest ground and though wood be scars there yet there is great plentie of red deere, that haunt the fennes and great mores thereabout', though he declared that the lordship 'summtyme longgid to the Lord Mowbray'.¹¹²

Henry VIII may have stayed at Hatfield during his northern progress in 1541, and certainly the Privy Council met there on 19, 21 and 22 August.¹¹³ The French Ambassador, Marillac, who was in his company, reported a hunt at Hatfield on 17 or 18 August, when some 200 deer were killed from boats and by crossbowmen, and another two miles away on the following day. He stated that 'in the King's presence were taken in the water a great quantity of young swans, two boats full of river birds and as much of great pikes and other fish'. However, Marillac refers to Henry 'supping in his tent' after the hunt and makes no mention of the manor house, though it is possible that some of the considerable entourage made use of what was still a royal manor.¹¹⁴

On 26 February 1574 there was an earthquake: 'part of a gable end of the Manor Hall did also suffer at the same time and great damage was done all the Country over'.¹¹⁵ A survey of 1607 describes the manor as in 'great ruin', so that £300 would scarcely repair it.¹¹⁶ An alleged visit there in 1609 by Prince Henry is not documented.¹¹⁷ There were proposals to disafforest the chase in 1624, and in 1628 a commission was set up to survey the

- 108. William Worcester, *Annales Rerum Anglicanum* (ed. T. Hearn), London 1774, pp. 461, 462.
- 109. De la Pryme , op. cit. in n. 16, p. 49 - an account repeated, without elaboration, in J. Wainwright, *Yorkshire - An Historical and Topographical Introduction to a knowledge of the ancient state of the Wapentake of Strafford and Tickhill*, Sheffield 1829, p. xcix; *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1452-61, London 1910, p. 531.
- 110. *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, London 1920, pp. 52-3, 329.
- 111. *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, Vol. XI, London 1888, pp. 255, 260, 292, 387, 403, 412, 414-5, 426, 438, 449, 499, 502-3.
- 112. L. Toulmin Smith (ed.), *The Itinerary of John Leland*, London 1907, Vol. I, p. 36.
- 113. Tomlinson, op.cit. in n.2, pp. 69-70 describes the conflicting approaches of Hunter and de la Pryme, recording the latter's assertion that, although intending to hunt at Hatfield, the king changed his mind and went through Lincolnshire to Hull. However, de la Pryme would not have had access to Marillac's letter, cited below, *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, Vol. XVI, London 1898, pp. 524-5, 528, 539.
- 114. Ibid., p. 533. King Francis I himself referred to this hunt in his own reply, pp. 548, 550.
- 115. De la Pryme, op. cit. in n.16, p. 36.
- 116. Survey of the Manor of Hatsfield, 5 James I, *Miscellaneous Books (Treasury of the Receipt)*, PRO, Vol. 193, ff. 57-89.
- 117. Reported by de la Pryme. Doubts expressed by Hunter, op.cit. in n.1, Vol. I, p. 156. Similar doubts raised by J. Nichols, *The Progresses Processions and Magnificent Festivities of King James I*, 1828, Vol I, pref. p.xxi; and C. Jackson, 'Sir Robert Swyft', *Y.A.J.* 4 (1875-77), p. 51. For later elaborations of the story, see also L.E. Harris, *Vermuyden and Fens*, London 1953, p. 36. The visit is not documented in contemporary records; see T. Birch, *The Life of Henry Prince of Wales, Eldest Son of King James I - compiled chiefly from his own papers and other manuscripts*, 1760; and C. Cornwall's, *The Life and Character of Henry Frederick Prince of Wales (Somer's Tract II)*, 1809.

manor, chase and its appurtenances in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire.¹¹⁸

Hatfield under Vermuyden and Sir Arthur Ingram

On 11 July 1628 Cornelius Vermuyden, who had been placed in control of the drainage scheme for the 180,000 acre chase, was granted the manor by Charles I for the sum of £16,080 and an annual rent of £195 3s 5½d. The grant also included the park with its conies and a messuage at Hatfield.¹¹⁹

The monarch appears to have made little or no personal gain out of this arrangement, as £10,000 was handed over to the Treasurer of the Navy Sir Sackville Crow, and on 21 July 1629 Lord Treasurer Weston was instructed that the improved rent of £425 (along with other sums from elsewhere) should be granted from 1630 to Katherine, Dowager Duchess of Buckingham and Sir George Manners 'for the use of the new Duke of Buckingham, for payment of the new the late Duke's debts, or for the preferment of her other children unprovided for'.¹²⁰

Vermuyden's interest was in the drainage rather than in the hunting offered by the Chase, as indicated by the king's promise to remove the deer before November 1629, any animals remaining thereafter being at Vermuyden's disposal.¹²¹ Similarly, the master of the game in the Chase appointed by James I, Sir Robert Anstruther, on losing the intended benefit allowed him through the dischasing, put in a plea for alternative consideration from 'such part of the Chace as is to be disposed of in fee farm, together with the reversion of the demesnes of the Manor of Hatfield upon such conditions as would be given by others, or as the king shall limit'.¹²² Tenants of the manor gained a considerable measure of the drained land and were simultaneously freed from the forest laws, as well as from the depredations of the king's deer.

Lords Wentworth and Darcy met several times at Hatfield during 1630 to view Vermuyden's work and to hear its critics, though where they met is not clear.¹²³ A problem here concerns the use to which Vermuyden put the Manor House and his part, if any, in the refurbishing, rebuilding and extension of the previously neglected structure which undoubtedly took place in the early seventeenth century, as witnessed by the drawing attached to de la Pryme's manuscript of the 1690s.¹²⁴ No incontrovertible evidence has been found of domestic construction work by him at Hatfield (though Stovin records such a building somewhere in the Chase,¹²⁵ and a tradition persists that he built a house near Epworth), and by 1630 his family was apparently settled in London.¹²⁶ In any event, he gradually disposed of his assets in the Hatfield area as the drainage costs spiralled,¹²⁷ probably selling the Manor House and the land quite separately (the Park, to the west of the Manor House, being steadily absorbed into the town).

The sales and changes of ownership over the next few years are both complex and not entirely clear. Hunter, without specifying his sources, declared that part of the manor was initially sold to Sir James Catts, and that Catts and Vermuyden later sold all the manor

- 118. *Cal. State Papers Domestick, James I, 1623-1625*, London 1859, pp. 423, 433; *Cal. State Papers Domestic, Charles I, 1625-1649*, London 1897, pp. 176, 263.
- 119. *Cal. State Papers Domestic, 1628-1629*, London 1859, p. 206; *Cal State Papers Dom., 1629-1631*, London 1860, p. 16; Hunter, op. cit. in n.1, Vol. I p. 161.
- 120. *Cal. State Papers Dom., 1629-1631*, London 1860, p. 16; Hunter, op. cit. in n.1, Vol. I, p. 173. The late duke had been stabbed by Felton at Portsmouth.
- 121. *Cal. State Papers Dom., 1628-1629*, London 1859, p. 515.
- 122. *Cal. State Papers Dom., 1625-1649*, London 1897, p. 357.
- 123. *Y.A.J. 7* (1882), p. 218; Hunter, op.cit., Vol, I p. 163.
- 124. BL: Lansdowne MS 597.
- 125. *Y.A.J. 7* (1882), p. 209.
- 126. L.E. Harris, *Vermuyden and the Fens*, London 1953, p. 59.
- 127. Ibid., p. 53.

and lands to a number of people.¹²⁸ He stated that the manor of Hatfield itself (with Fishlake, Thorne, Stainforth and Dowesthorpe) Hatfield Park, and 1900 acres went to John Gibbons, for which he was to answer for his proportion of the rent to the Duke of Buckingham of £200 1s 8d per year.¹²⁹ Gibbons in turn sold part of his lands to Sir Edward Osborne, while the manorial rights and the royalty of the whole Chase were purchased from Gibbons by Sir Arthur Ingram.¹³⁰

Documents among the Ingram papers present a different pattern, with a sale of the manor of Hatfield from Sir Cornelius Vermuyden to Geoffrey Kirby, a further sale of the manor in 1636 by Ann, Viscountess of Dorchester (herself involved in a dispute over purchase that same year), Henry, Viscount Newark, Sir Thomas Glemham, John Gibbons and Stephen --- to Sir Edward Osborne, Sir John Ramsden and Humphrey Shalcross. Ramsden then sold his share in 1637 to Osborne and Shalcross, who in turn sold out to John Mattison and Christopher Ellison, stewards of Sir Arthur Ingram.¹³¹

Both sources thus indicate that the manor passed in turn through the hands of Gibbons and Osborne, though other parties were clearly involved. Documents of 1637 and c.1666 also relate to a claim by the Duke of Buckingham for the fee farm rent due to him, but which had apparently gone unpaid.¹³² A letter from Edward Osborne to Arthur Ingram dated 22 January 1637, apparently referring to the manor house, speaks of a set of tapestries there bestowed by John Gibbons, indicating that by this date the rebuilt house was habitable.¹³³

The Inggrams, who were to be the third of the major long-term owners of Hatfield Manor House, and who were to do much to resurrect it, were a relatively nouveau riche family whose money had recently been made in London. They subsequently acquired much land in Yorkshire by purchase, making Temple Newsam near Leeds their principal residence. Sir Arthur Ingram, who was knighted in 1613, made high sheriff of Yorkshire in 1620/1, and held several high offices within the royal patronage, died in 1642 soon after acquiring Hatfield.¹³⁴ It was his son by his first wife (and hence stepbrother to Sir Thomas Ingram, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and privy councillor of Charles I), Sir Arthur Ingram the younger, who was, however, to be more closely associated with the manor.

Only about 6-8 acres of land seem to have remained attached to the manor house by this stage, and initially the Inggrams seem to have retained some direct right to use the house, as opposed to the pattern of tenancy established later. Indeed, the second Sir Arthur is said to have spent some time there, and it was no doubt in part his presence that brought the house its involvement in the Civil War, since he was apparently held for ransom there by soldiers from Pontefract Castle and forced to pay £1500.¹³⁵ Manorial courts continued to meet at Hatfield during this period, as in 1651.¹³⁶

The second Sir Arthur Ingram died on 4 July 1655,¹³⁷ while his eldest son and successor as lord of Hatfield, Thomas Ingram of Temple Newsam, in his will dated 4 February 1659 and proved 1 May 1660, left £180 per year out of the manor to his sister Anne, wife of Henry

128. Hunter, op.cit., p. 173.

129. Ibid.

130. Ibid.

131. Lodged with the City Archives Dept., Leeds, especially a listing dated 2 Nov. 1642 of documents delivered by Ellison relating to the manor which he had acquired for Sir Arthur: TN/HC/A.

132. TN/HC/B/6.

133. TN/HC/C1.

134. A.F. Upton, *Sir Arthur Ingram*, Oxford 1961; Hunter, op.cit., Vol. I, pp. 173-4; Tomlinson, op.cit. in n.2, p. 137; B. Burke, *Dormant, Abeyant, Forfeited and Extinct Peerages*, London 1883, p. 296; W. Wheater, *Some Historic Mansions of Yorkshire and their Associations*, Leeds 1888, Vol. I, pp. 292-4.

135. Tomlinson, op.cit., p. 137, citing Rushworth, though not the precise source.

136. Proceedings of a jury sworn at a court at Hatfield 31 March 1651, relative to laying out the moors from Kirkbrigg cawsey, Thorne, to Fishlake, in the Stovin MS, Y.A.J. 7 (1882), p. 220.

137. Burke, op.cit. in n. 134, p. 296.

Stapylton of Wighill.¹³⁸ Thomas died without children and was succeeded by his brother Henry (1616-66), who was created Viscount of Irvine (or Irwin) on 23 May 1661.¹³⁹ Hatfield subsequently passed in the senior branches of the family through the nine viscounts.

Among these who rented the manor from the Ingrams in the later seventeenth century was John Bradbourne, a London lawyer, while Tim Moore wrote asking if he could rent it and may had done so. It was Lord Irwin, however, who paid 8s for half a year's duty on eight hearths in his house at Hatfield on 27 October 1681, while on 3 September 1683 he paid 11s for the eleven hearths of his two houses in Hatfield.¹⁴⁰

In spite of this, de la Pryme, writing apparently in the 1690s, rather confusingly refers to the manor house as 'this at Present old Ruined Pallace' and as 'an indifferent larg Hall with great courts and gardens about the same'.¹⁴¹ This would suggest that, despite the early to mid seventeenth-century rebuilding of the east wing, encompassing the tower/solar, the Norman hall may have remained in ruins alongside. Yet the apparently contemporary drawing accompanying his work (Fig. 8) is clearly from an angle which reveals at least part of the Norman block as intact and rebuilt in the same seventeenth-century style.

The eighteenth century

The court of the former Hospitallers' manor of Cadeby, which the Ingrams had also acquired, was summoned to meet 'att the manor hall in Haitefeld the 5th of November 1700 or that day 3 weeks'.¹⁴² In fact, from some point, probably early in the eighteenth century, Hatfield's own manor court met in a new Court House built in the north-west corner of the garth, between the stables and the road. Indeed, from this period we have details of extensive building work within the manor garth, though it is far from clear how much of this applied to the house itself. On 21 March 1705 payment was made for building materials (including nails, a mat of hair, sand and latts brought from Doncaster) and workmen to a total of £5 8s 11d.¹⁴³ Presumably this involved plastering or roofing work. A further £9 12s 0d was paid on 23 July for lengths of lead pipe and for labour, for both the hall and the stables. Two other bills of August 1705 'for work at the Manner Hall' involved respectively (1) the purchase of 28 stone of new and casting lead and 2½ days' work, at a total of £2 6s 9d, and (2) work by John Hoddy for 6 days and by his man for 4 days, on fitting wood about the lead gutters, footing the main spars and checking the door and threshold, as well as fitting a piece of wood in the chimney, all for £1 11s 7d. Payment was also made on 18 September of 16s 9d to William Farrer for 150 long nails 'for repairing the Hall at Hatfield, and on 4 December payment of a further 11s was recorded for nails delivered 'to the Manner Hall'.

In 1708 more work was carried out, as witnessed by receipts of 1 and 3 August and 14 October. While the first and last, paid for on 30 March 1709, dealt with the purchase from William Farrer of Hatfield of pieces of timber 10-12 feet long and 10-12 inches broad, and 100 nails, to a value of 8s 3d, the other was longer and more detailed. It not only involved the purchase of nails, 8 stone of new lead, 21 stone of lead casting and work on the lead guttering, but also the purchase of latts from Doncaster, lime, sand and matts of hair, all to the value of £6 5s 10d. More specifically we are told that Thomas Stoney was paid for making lime and mixing it with hair, while Henry Rose was paid for a day of 'drawing of lyme and hair in the Chamber' (presumably the solar), and Isaac Shackilton was paid for 14

138. J.W.Clay (ed.), *Abstracts of Yorkshire Wills in the time of the Commonwealth*, Y.A.S.R.S. 9 (1890), p. 160.

139. G.E. Chambers et al. *The Complete Peerage*, London 1929, Vol. VII, pp. 71-5.

140. TN/HC/C/7.

141. De la Pryme, op.cit. in n. 16, pp. 40, 42.

142. E.W. Crossley, 'The Preceptory of Newland-The Manor of Cadeby; Y.A.J. 35 (1940-43), p. 146.

143. TN/HC/C/11/5.

days of ‘drawing lyme and hair and pointing Hall at 20d. a day’. Three other workmen were also involved. Considerable additional work must have been done in 1709, for a receipt of 16 August from William Beale involved £5 ‘for work done at Manor Hall, Hatfield’.

The manor was one of a number contained in a lease and release indenture between Lord Ingram and Henry Waugh of Staple Inn in Middlesex, the lease dated 13 October 1710, the release on the following day.¹⁴⁴

A large bill of £40 from September 1714 relates to work done by Henry Lamb in Hatfield for Lord Irwin, but covered various properties in the village and may have excluded the manor house.¹⁴⁵ However, throughout 1718 a further extensive programme of building work was definitely undertaken at the Hall complex. On 28 February £2 1s 2d was paid to Robert Cornwood and Robert Hopkinson for nails and latts ‘used at Hatfield Hall’. Hopkinson was paid another £2 10s for flooring work involving bricks on 26 May, while Cornwood received £3 10s on 28 May for ‘taking down timber in the manor Hale of Hatfield’.¹⁴⁶ Between 29 May and 11 August nine loads of lime at 6s each were delivered by Thomas Moore and Henry More ‘towards repairs of the manor house at Hatfield’.¹⁴⁷ However, the largest outlays in 1718 were two payments made on 9 and 10 December to Thomas Moore and Joseph Jallett, from Robert Hopkinson on behalf of Lord Irwin, the one for 8000 bricks (13s 0d) and nine loads of lime (£1 16s 0d), the other for 10,000 bricks (£3). Since the existing Coach House block still bears the date 1717, we may presume that much, if not all, of this work was centred there, some of the earlier eighteenth-century work perhaps relating to the new Court House, as well as to the Manor House itself.

In July 1726, Isabella, Lady Irwin, directed her son Arthur, 6th Viscount Irwin, by deed poll to take up and borrow £20,000 from Thomas, Lord Trevor, Talbot, Earl of Sussex, Sir John Cope of Bramshill and Edward Alpin, on a mortgage of Hatfield Manor, among other properties.¹⁴⁸ A number of the original participants in this deal having died or no longer retaining an interest, this mortgage was to be assigned and confirmed on 2 January 1737, involving not only the Trevors and Ingrams, but also the Dowager Countess of Portland.¹⁴⁹

Still further extensive work was carried out by Thomas Doughty ‘at the Manor Hall of Hatfield’ between July and November 1727. Most of the bill, paid on 29 November and totalling £10 6s 0d, related to labour costs, but clues to the nature of the work are to be found in the materials and other jottings recorded on the bill. Initially, on 27 July, loads of lime (18s 0d) and the digging and loading of sand (5s 6d) were accounted for. Four of the workmen were paid on 6 August for work on the windows, the fifth for work on ‘the long wall’. Payments on 10 September recorded work ‘about pillars’, while on 17 September reference was made to work about and at the top of the long wall. On 17 October twelve sheaves of straw thatch were purchased at 12s 0d and payment made for mowing, tying and loading 1500 rushes. John Ducker and John Fish were paid 14s 0d and £1 3s 4d respectively for twelve and twenty days’ thatching, as well as living allowances of 7s and 11s 8d. Finally, on 22 November, payment was made to three men for ‘filling rubbish into Frank Moor’s waggon’, and on 23 November for ‘loading and filling’, the job presumably being complete.¹⁵⁰ Quite what was on the manorial complex was thatched and plastered or mortared at this time is difficult to say, and, although pillars are to be found in the entrance

144. West Riding Registry of Deeds, Wakefield, 1710 No. C/278/444.

145. TN/HC/C/11/5.

146. TN/HC/C/7.

147. TN/HC/C/11/5: paid on 15 Oct. 1718 - payment received by Thomas Smith.

148. West Riding Registry of Deeds, 1726 No. X/90/120, 121, registered 16 July 1726.

149. Ibid., No. II/746/1022.

150. TN/HC/C/11/5.

lobby of the Hall itself, they are probably of a later date. However, in 1751 Pococke recorded that, although 'great part of the house in pull'd down', the manor has been 'fitted up in a very elegant taste, as I suppose, in the style of Inigo Jones'.¹⁵¹

Meanwhile, on 31 July 1735, Mordecai Cutts of Thorne was appointed steward of the manor,¹⁵² and a dispute over repair of the manor house was followed in the reign of George II by the Ingrams being embroiled until 1758 in a protracted dispute in the Court of the Exchequer with tenants of the manor over common rights and other privileges. A Mr Canby of Thorne, the new steward of the manor, was apparently responsible for withholding a key document in the case.¹⁵³ Pococke's account of 1751 records the manor house as then 'inhabited by a farmer'.¹⁵⁴ Stovin, writing in the mid-eighteenth century, mentioned 53 'copyhold fishings' as being held by the lord of the manor of Hatfield by certain rents.¹⁵⁵ The manor itself he described as copyhold at a small fine, the tenants having the privilege of felling wood and timber without the consent of the lord of the manor.¹⁵⁶

From 1778 to 1980

The Ingram lordship came to an end with the death on 27 June 1778 of Charles, 10th Viscount Irvine, survived by five daughters.¹⁵⁷ Hatfield manor and house were bequeathed for life to the eldest, Isabella, Lady Beauchamp, who had married the 2nd Marquess of Hertford in 1776.¹⁵⁸ The manor house, which was not mentioned in the Tax on Male Servants return of 1780,¹⁵⁹ continued with the dowager marchioness, passing subsequently to the third daughter, Elizabeth Ingram-Shepherd,¹⁶⁰ who on 2 August 1782 had married Hugo Meynell of Hoar Cross, Staffordshire. Elizabeth died on 17 May 1800, and Hatfield descended in turn to her eldest son, Hugo Charles Meynell-Ingram and his son, Hugo Francis Meynell.¹⁶¹ The latter married a daughter of Lord Halifax of Hickleton and died without issue, his widow retaining the title of lady of the manor at the time of Tomlinson's history in 1882.

In the meantime the manor house continued to be occupied by tenants. In 1804, when it had lost its status as the principal mansion of Hatfield to that of Mr William Gossip (or Jessop), it was occupied by Captain G. Eyre, R.N., who had recently married a daughter of Sir George Cooke of Wheatley, Doncaster.¹⁶² The open fields having been enclosed in 1814, between 8000 and 9000 acres of common in Hatfield were enclosed in 1816 as a result of an act of 1811,¹⁶³ and when Hugo Charles Meynell-Ingram's properties were listed in an indenture of 20 March 1843, they included not only the Manor House (together with its stables, garden court, great garth and long garth, totalling 8 acres 3 roods and 17 perches), but also a 1000-acre estate called the Parks - a survival from the medieval era.¹⁶⁴ A further

151. R. Pococke in J.J. Cartwright, op.cit. in n.8, p. 184.

152. TN/HC/C/7

153. TN/HC/B/20; Hunter, op.cit., p. 174; Tomlinson, op.cit., p. 138.

154. Pococke in Cartwright, op.cit., p. 184.

155. Stovin, op.cit. in n.15, Part i, p. 9.

156. Ibid., pp. 1-2.

157. Burke, op.cit. in n. 134, p. 297 (will dated 16 June 1777, proved 27 July 1778).

158. Ibid.; Hunter, op.cit., p. 173.

159. J.J. Cartwright, 'List of persons in Yorkshrie who paid the tax on male servants in 1780', *Y.A.J.*, 14 (1898), pp. 65-80.

160. Tomlinson, op.cit., p. 137

161. Ibid., pp. 137-8.

162. E. Miller, *The History and Antiquities of Doncaster and its vicinity*, Doncaster 1804, p. 298.

163. An act for inclosing lands in the parishes of Hatfield, Thorne and Fishlake, in the manor of Hatfield, in the West Riding of the County of York, 1811, in Acts of Parliament relating to Sheffield 1760-1951, No. 6, in Sheffield City Library.

164. West Riding Registry of Deeds, OA/515/190.

deed of 6 June 1845 referred to the same properties as those of both Hugo and his wife Georgiana.¹⁶⁵ The early Ordnance Survey maps of the mid-nineteenth century provide some of the earliest direct evidence of the layout of buildings within the manor garth, but indicate that little major structural change occurred until the construction of new buildings in the mid-twentieth century.

It is not clear from the census returns of 1851 who was living there then, but by 1861 the manor house was home to a 56-year old land agent, Rowland Heathcote, his wife, son and four servants.¹⁶⁶ At the census of 1871 there were also two grandchildren and the servants had all been replaced.¹⁶⁷ A description of 1874 says of the old manor house that 'there are still some scanty remains of it - a further premature report of its demise,'¹⁶⁸ while a print in Tomlinson's history shows it much as it appeared into the present century.

By 1881 the Heathcotes had been replaced by another land agent, William Thompson, his wife, their four young daughters and son, a governess and a housemaid.¹⁶⁹ As for the Court House, it was reported that by 1882 even the petty sessional business of the manorial court had recently moved to Thorne.¹⁷⁰ George Henry Hudson had become the occupant of the manor house by 1895,¹⁷¹ being described as a farmer in a deed of 1896.¹⁷²

The Meynell-Ingram era of ownership of the manor ended on 15 November 1917, when Edward Frederick Lindley Wood, the future Viscount Halifax, who had inherited it from his aunt Emily in 1904, sold it to William Coulman (a farmer from Eastoft), Robert Hudson (a solicitor of Doncaster) and Philip Nichol Brundell (a Doncaster architect and surveyor).¹⁷³ They acquired 'all the messuage of dwellinghouse with the stables and other outbuildings, Yards, Gardens and late thereto belonging and occupied therewith, known as Hatfield Manor House ... and also those 2 cottages adjoining the said premises now in the occupation of John Harland and (J) Pogmoor containing together eight acres 3 roods fifteen perches (more or less)'. However, the same conveyance refers to the manor house as 'late in the occupation of George Henry Hudson and now unoccupied'. The division between the new owners was to be in six equal parts, with Coulman holding three parts in fee simple, Hudson two and Brundell one.¹⁷⁴ Shortly after, in 1922, Brundell agreed to sell his share to Coulman for £266 13s 4d, whereupon the two remaining owners sold out together on 1 July 1922 to Charlotte Elizabeth Nicholson of The Leylands, Hatfield, for £2300.¹⁷⁵ The agreement still provided for payment of the annual rent settled on the Buckinghams in the seventeenth century, and the sale again included the two cottages in the garth, the manor house itself being described as 'usually occupied but for some time past unoccupied'. A photograph of the house from around this time shows it much as it remains at present.

By October 1928 George Hudson was again described as 'of the Manor, Hatfield',

165. Ibid., PF/333/328.

166. Census of England and Wales 1861, Enumerators' Handbook RG 9, Thorne District, Hatfield Township.

167. Census of England and Wales 1871, Enumerators' Handbook RG 10, Thorne District, Hatfield Township.

168. *Murray's Handbook for Travellers in Yorkshire*, London 1874, p. 91.

169. Census of England and Wales 1881, Enumerator's Handbook RG 11, Thorne District, Hatfield Township.

170. Tomlinson, op.cit., p. 139.

171. *The Gazette Commercial and General Doncaster Directory*, Doncaster 1895, p. 112.

172. West Riding Registry of Deeds 1896, Vol. 51, p. 282, no. 147.

173. Ibid., 1917, Vol. 33, p. 822, no. 277. The executors included Emily's cousin Albert, Earl Grey. At her death, her brother Frederick, the originally intended recipient of Hatfield, continued the Meynell line by changing his name to Meynell by Royal Licence of 8 Feb. 1905.

174. Ibid. The conveyance was signed in the presence of P.S. Marsden, a land agent of The Grange, Whitkirk, Leeds.

175. West Riding Registry of Deeds, Conveyance, 1922, Vol. 49, p. 1205, no. 446. Coulman's share was £1533 6s 8d and Hudson's £766 13s 4d.

indicating that it was by then reoccupied.¹⁷⁶ When Charlotte Nicholson, a widow, died on 8 June 1929 the fate of the ‘manor with outbuildings, gardens, pleasure grounds, paddock and close of land occupied therewith and the Court House (now occupied as cottages adjoining or near thereto)’ remained unsettled by her will of 22 September 1926.¹⁷⁷ George Hudson and Thomas Nicholson of Wath upon Dearne acted as executors, and in November 1929 assents were given for The Leylands to go to Miss Marjorie Nicholson and the Manor House to George Hudson’s wife, Hilda Charlotte. Thus the occupants of the manor became its legal owners on 2 November 1929.¹⁷⁸ As such they jointly signed a lease with the Hatfield Main Coal Company on 22 May 1940 to mine under the south part of the manor garth, with an agreement on any necessary damages.¹⁷⁹

In 1955 Hilda Hudson, now a widow and owner of several properties in the Hatfield area, began to sell off the garth around the Manor House. On 24 May she sold 1914 square yards of land north-east of the house, to the east of the Coach House and its adjacent Fold Yard, and abutting alongside the footpath to the north of the garth, to Marjorie Nicholson of Ash Hill Lodge, Hatfield.¹⁸⁰ On 5 December 1960 the southern of the two cottages into which the old Court House had been divided (now No. 15 Manor Road) was sold to Amy Kathleen Schuller of Hatfield.¹⁸¹ On 30 November 1966 the Fold Yard was sold to Eric North and his wife Sadie, who at the same time acquired for £6000 the 1914 square yards of the garth previously purchased by Marjorie Nicholson, together with the house erected on it, known as Halfacres.¹⁸² Further development of the site took place in the 1970s, when and 1980s, including the refurbishing of the Coach House. Mr Hudson remained at the Manor House until the 1970, when it was eventually acquired by a Mr Poppleton for a few years before being purchased in 1980 by the Marsden family of Scriven Park, Knaresborough.

Appendices

I A note on the excavation

A small excavation was carried out while the investigation of the standing structure was under way, in advance of the digging of drainage trenches and lowering of the ground level around the house, a measure designed to prevent rising damp. Archaeological work was restricted to the trenches required for this scheme, so no interpretation can be offered and this note is limited to observations which affect the history of the standing structure. Three trenches were excavated: A along the west side of the southern wing, B along the base of the west gable-end of the twelfth-century manor house, and C along its north side.

Features in trench A included nineteenth-century foundations which were probably those of the building shown abutting the south wing of the house on the Ordnance survey 6 inch map of 1854. A parallel wall foundation of handmade bricks probably represents a seventeenth-century addition to the south wing which appears on the drawing by de la Pryme. The highest part of the foundation of the west wall of the medieval south wing was exposed in this trench. A narrow clay-capped feature which appeared to be the foundation trench of a part of this wall contained a sherd of thirteenth or fourteenth-century pottery.

176. Ibid., Vol. 120, p. 1016, no. 365.

177. Ibid., Vol. 112, p. 1149, no. 353: registered 20 Sept. 1929.

178. Ibid., 1929, Vol. 137, p. 196, no. 67.

179. Ibid., 1940, Vol. 37, p. 256, no. 92.

180. Ibid., 1955, Vol. 100, p. 250, no. 125. Marjorie Nicholson died 26 July 1966, leaving Hilda Hudson as one of her executors (ibid., 1967, Vol. 23, p. 842, no. 394).

181. Ibid., 1961, Vol. 26, p. 156, no. 78 - witnessed by Mrs Doreen Toye of the Manor. Right of access alongside to the south of No. 15 was settled by a deed of grant dated 20 March 1961 (ibid., 1961, Vol. 72, p. 137, no. 66).

182. Ibid., 1967, Vol. 23, p. 837, no. 393.

Trench B contained almost no archaeological features - its excavation did, however, reveal the cobble foundations of the Norman manor house and the chamfered plinth above. The foundations were laid in regular courses, two of which were exposed. The lower of these was about ten cm. wider on its external face than the one above. There was no visible foundation trench for the Norman building and there was no evidence for masonry additions to this gable end.

At the east end of trench C the stone foundations of the large chimneystack (a later insertion in the north wall of the Norman house) were immediately revealed, overlain by topsoil. Fifteenth to sixteenth-century sherds, including a jug of Skipton on Swale ware, were contained in a layer cut by the foundations of the stack. Although the west end of the north wall of the manor house had been cut through by the insertion of a late or post-medieval upstairs door which was later re-used as a first floor window, no evidence appeared for a timber or stone built wing to which the door might have led.

The foundations of the north wall of the manor house were of different character to those of the west gable wall. Re-used masonry in the north wall face along with the absence of a plinth suggested that the wall had been refaced down to foundation level. This trench contained two cobble post settings, one of which may have been contemporary with or older than the Norman house. Both of these were set in pale yellow sand which also contained the twelfth-century foundations and a single sherd of shell pottery. A small amount of pottery was retrieved from all three trenches. Apart from the shelly ware the pottery dated from the thirteenth century onwards.

The excavation suggests that archaeological evidence for structures dating from at least the Anglo-Norman period to the nineteenth century survives at Hatfield. However, because of the nature of the earliest structures and scarcity of datable finds for the earlier periods, further excavation on a much larger scale would be desirable.

II Architectural Fragments from the Garden of Hatfield Manor House.

A search of the gardens and rockeries around the Manor House revealed large number of architectural fragments, some of considerable interest. Other pieces doubtless remain buried at shallow depth.

The fragments, all of which appear to be oolitic limestone, fall into two main groups which readily correlate with the first two of the three major phases of building activity demonstrated by the standing fabric. The first group, finely tooled ashlars of a slightly purple stone, is of late twelfth-century date; the second, of a whiter stone which sometimes has a rather chalky surface, is of the sixteenth/seventeenth century. Two or three pieces do not readily fall into either group, and may be presumed to be of intermediate medieval date. The majority of the stones are almost certainly derived from the fabric of the Manor House, although a note of warning is sounded by (8), part of a medieval grave slab. Whilst the Manor did at one time have its own chapel, a fragment of a sepulchral monument such as this would seem most likely to have been brought from the parish church, perhaps testimony to a previous owner of the property having had antiquarian magpie tendencies.

Only the more interesting fragments are here described and illustrated, others being briefly noted where relevant (Figs 9-11).

(1) A limestone block 1.4m by .36m square, lying close to the south-west corner of the hall block (Fig. 9). This is a high-quality piece of considerable importance, having formed the impost block of a large twelfth-century arch. The respond below the impost would appear to have consisted of a large keel-shaped member and a more slender shaft (perhaps detached), the latter having a capital which forms an integral part of the block. This capital has water-leaf volutes of c. 1117-80, similar to those of the west door of Hatfield Parish Church. Above this the capital mouldings are carried back along each face of the block for a little over half its length, well cut and deeply recessed on one side but much more

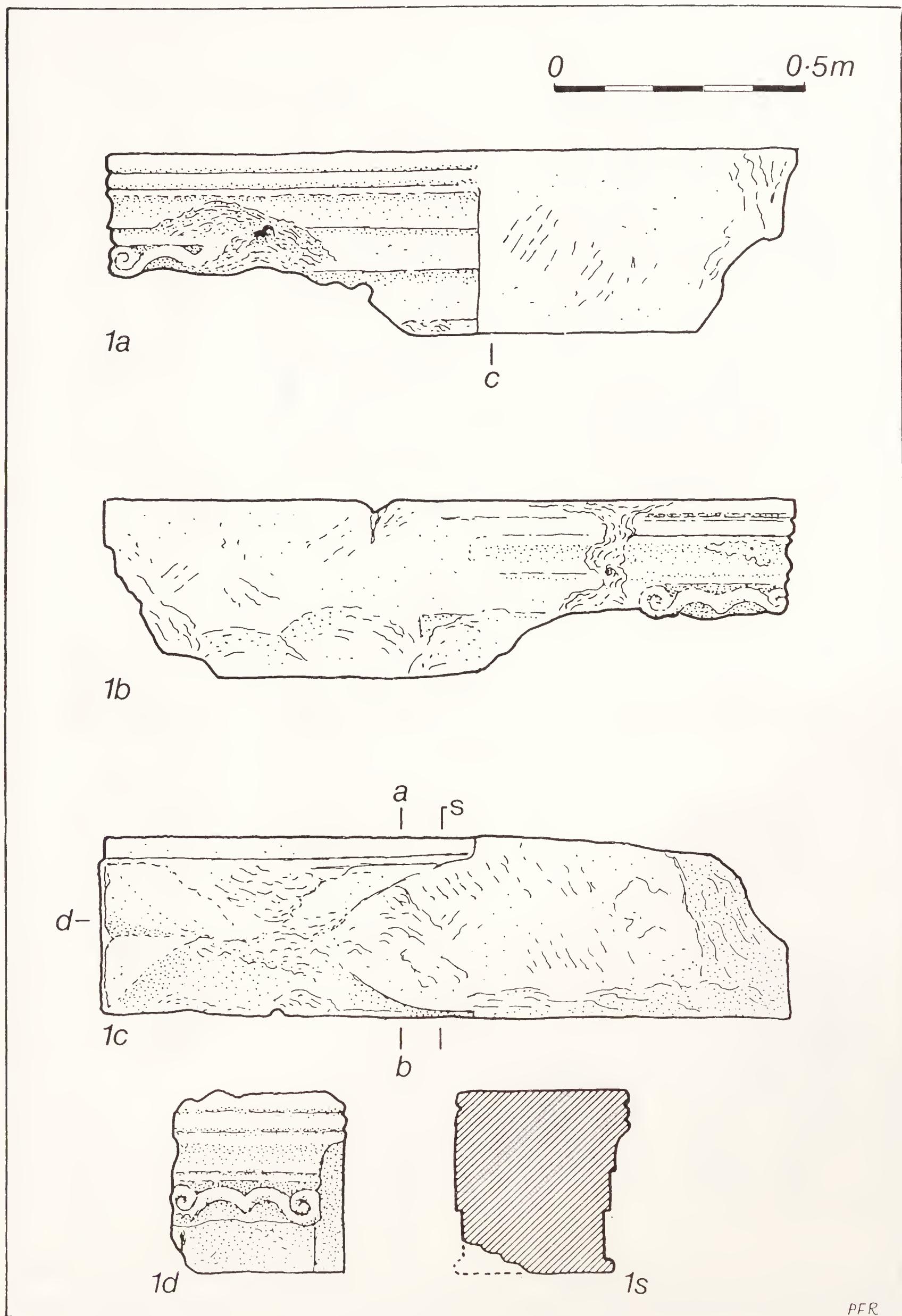


Fig. 9. Decorated twelfth-century impost block.

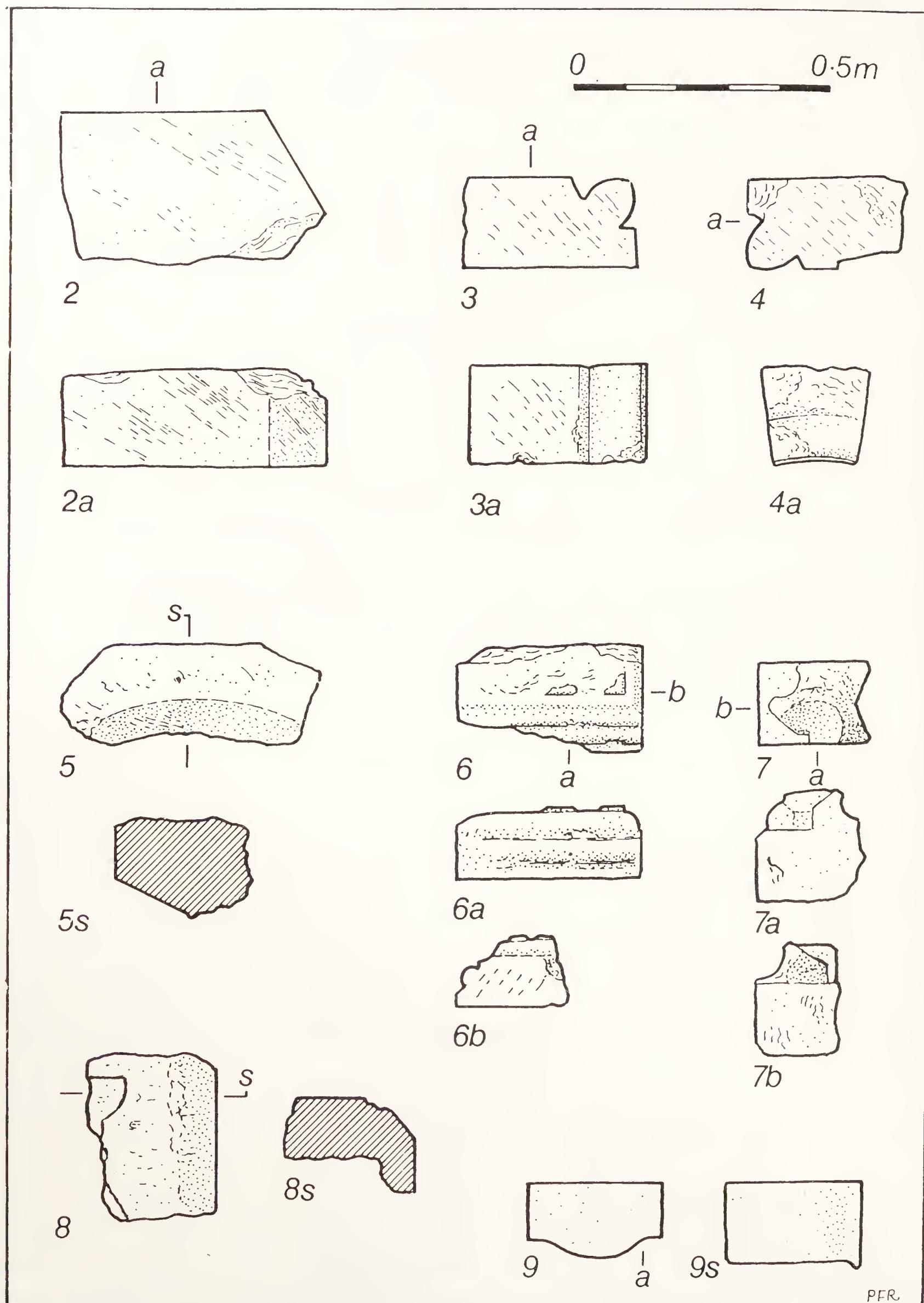


Fig. 10. Architectural fragments, nos. 2-9.

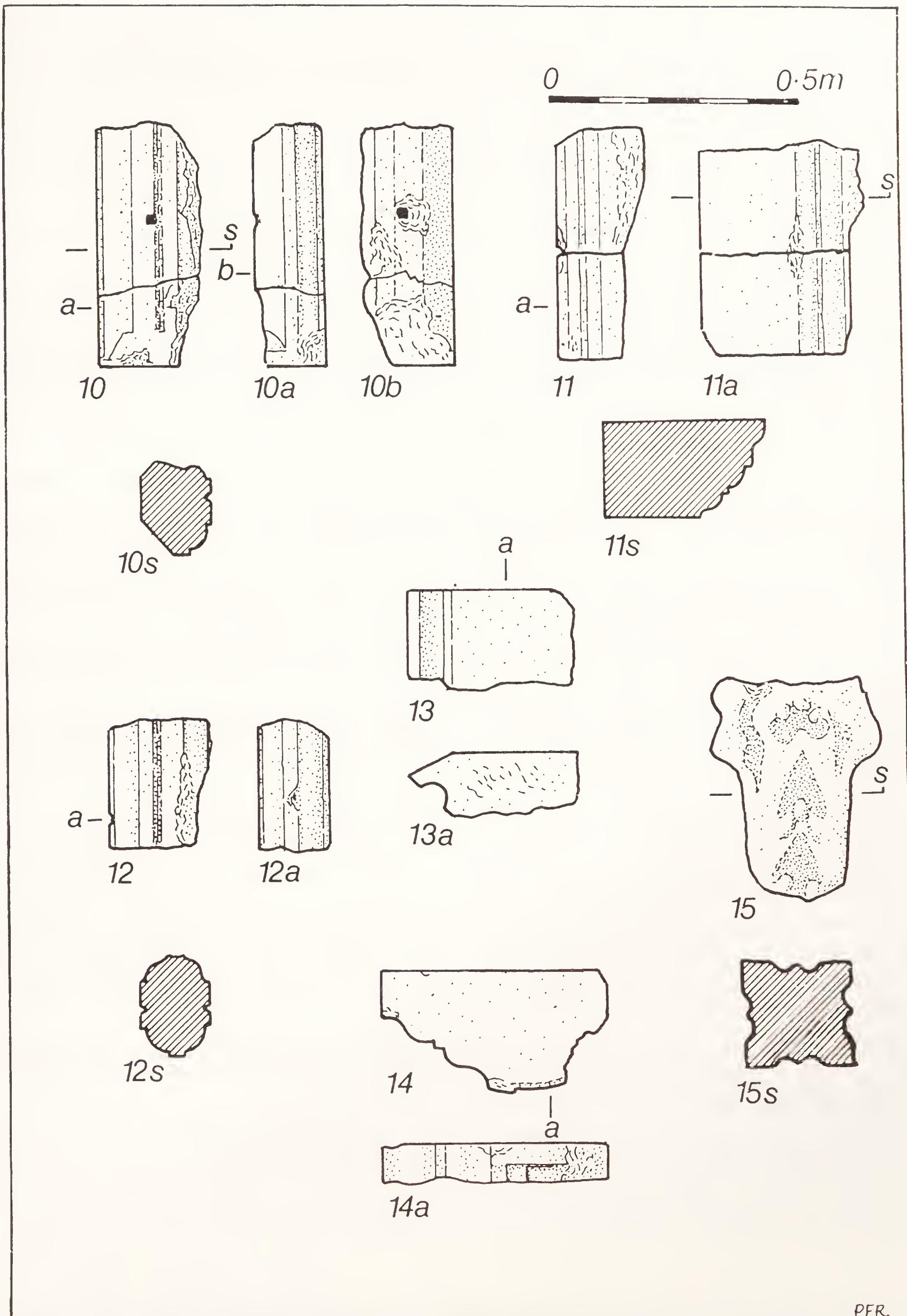


Fig. 11. Architectural fragments, nos. 10-15.

PFR

shallow on the reverse.

This member cannot readily be fitted into the scheme of a conventional doorway, whilst the asymmetry of its mouldings would not tally with its being part of a free-standing arcade. The most plausible interpretation of its function would be as part of a mural recess, perhaps at the dais end of the hall. An interesting parallel is seen at St Mary's Guild, Lincoln, where the north wall of the first-floor hall has remains of two wide semicircular arches springing from a central capital with acanthus leaves, projecting boldly from a slender mural shaft.¹⁸³

(2.) A block with two finely-tooled faces at an angle of 120°, probably part of the rear arch of a twelfth-century window (Fig. 10). (Several other similar blocks, along with stones showing similar tooling and cut with square rebates, not illustrated).

(3.) Jamb stone, perhaps from a twelfth-century first-floor window, showing a bold slightly keel-shaped roll moulding.

(4.) Vousoir of the same section as (3), from an arch of c. 1 - 1.5m. width, again probably a twelfth-century first-floor window.

(5.) Part of a window or door head, showing a broad chamfer and traces of an inner order which has been cut away.

(6.) Part of an impost or perhaps a base, moulded with a half-roll and a hollow chamfer, part of the stone having been cut away during subsequent re-use.

(7.) An unusual small piece bearing a fragment of high-relief carving, possibly a label stop.

(8.) Fragment of a medieval priest's grave cover with a chamfered edge and part of an incised chalice. Perhaps later twelfth or thirteenth-century (Fig. 10).

(9.) Part of a jamb moulded with a broad swelled chamfer, in brownish stone. Perhaps fifteenth or sixteenth-century.

(10.) A section of window mullion (in two pieces), ovolو-moulded on one side and chamfered on the other, with at its base traces of a junction with a transom. Sixteenth or seventeenth-century. (Fig. 11).

(11.) A section of jamb (in two pieces), perhaps from a fireplace, bearing a wave moulding and a swelled chamfer: sixteenth or seventeenth-century.

(12.) A section of an ovolо-moulded window mullion, sixteenth or seventeenth-century. (another similar fragment not illustrated).

(13.) A section of window jamb, chamfered on one side and with a hollow chamfer of 'casement moulding' on the other. The whitish stone is similar to the sixteenth/seventeenth-century material but stylistically this piece might be rather earlier. Fifteenth-century?

(14.) A thin section of a jamb with a broad double wave moulding and a curved front face, with a fragment of a recessed panel; part of a quite elaborate feature of some type: sixteenth or seventeenth-century.

(15.) A small square capital with a relief design incorporating sunk arrow-shaped panels on each face, badly weathered: sixteenth or seventeenth-century.

183. M.E.Wood, *The English Medieval House* (1965), 7, 135; Pls IIA, VIIID. Two possible garderobe chutes have now been located in the centre of the north wall of the twelfth-century range.

A MEDIEVAL HARBOUR AT FLAMBOROUGH

By Mark Johnson

INTRODUCTION.

Medieval coastal harbours are little known archaeological phenomena; this article comprises of the results of a study concerned with one such possible site at Flamborough, North Humberside. Part 1. of this paper is concerned solely with archaeological evidence, Part 2. with historical evidence, whilst Part 3. is largely an attempt at synthesis to extract as much information as is reliably feasible.

PART 1. SURVEY.

The plan, Fig 1 and the photographs relate to the survey of the possible medieval harbour remains at South Landing, Flamborough, carried out between August 1985 and January 1987. These remains, centred on TA 23246918, lay on and partially in a ground surface made up of sand and shingle with an underlaying chalk bedrock that in places breaks through to the surface. Their location between the high and low water tidal levels necessitated that all survey work be carried out between tides. The field drawings were all made at a scale of 1:100, this scale being determined partly by the size of the area to be surveyed and partly by the limitations of time and resources. In order to eliminate the presence of moving shingle and small stones from the drawings that might otherwise mask any spatial patterning, it was decided to record only those stones whose size in horizontal plan was a surface area of approximately 400 square centimetres or above.

Fig 1 shows the remains to consist of three clearly discernable features numbered from NE to SW 1 to 3, made up of clusters of a large number of stones/boulders of varying concentrations. F.1. is basically a loose scatter of boulders, whilst a certain amount of detectable spatial patterning is observable in the more concentrated cluster of F.2. in the form of a deeply embedded circular shaped feature at its northern extremity, and particularly so in F.3. where two almost parallel rows of large boulders predominantly lying on their sides are evidenced. It is argued here that these features are non natural, firstly, on the grounds that such concentrations of boulders do not occur elsewhere along this coastline away from the base of the cliffs, all areas between the high and low tidal levels consisting of either sand, shingle, or bedrock, with only the occasional boulder in evidence. Secondly, the traces of ordered spatial patterning exemplified by the linear arrangements in F.3. point strongly towards construction by man. One further piece of evidence against a natural formation is that concerning the nature of the stones themselves. In randomly selected boulder samples from the cliff base it was observed that upwards of 90 percent of the stones were of chalk, the same material as the bedrock and cliffs. The three features however are constituted overwhelmingly of non chalk boulders in proportions detailed below.

F.1. = approx 67.5% non chalk.

F.2. = approx 87.0% non chalk.

F.3. = approx 57.0% non chalk.

Mean for the three features = approx 70.5% non chalk.

These figures may imply a conscious selection of non chalk boulders in preference to chalk,



Fig. 1. Remains of a medieval harbour at Flamborough in relation to the surrounding topography.

perhaps at least for certain functions as may be indicated by the fact that the two linear arrangements of F.3. contain very few non chalk boulders. The source of the non chalk material which consists of stone types ranging from sandstones to granite, appears to be from within the glacially deposited boulder clay that overlies the chalk clifffed headland.

No evidence for working or tooling has been located on any of the the material, though if such had existed it would have probably long since succumbed to erosion by the elements. It is noted nonetheless that either a very careful selection, or a rough hewing of stones, may well have been necessary in order to facilitate the compact close fitting relationships between many of the individual stones of F.3.'s linear features.

It should be pointed out that a very limited amount of movement of boulders has been observed as occurring over the period of the survey, this movement being restricted to a few of the smaller stones. Some of this activity doubtless relates to action by natural elements, although the majority is believed to relate to the activities of people who in search of edible mollusca sometimes disturb, and occasionally roll over, stones that are either light in weight or not deeply embedded in the ground surface.

2. HISTORICAL REVIEW.

A port is first mentioned at Flamborough in 1323 when its keepers were ordered not to permit a certain Master John de Stratford, or any of his men, to cross the sea without the King's special consent.¹

The earliest mention of actual structural port facilities was in 1400-01 when Robert Constable Lord of 'Flayneburgh' bequeathed £40 for the maintenance of one 'kay' in the sea.² There are thereafter several other documentary references to the port of Flamborough recording such matters as the tonnage of vessels from the port, acts of piracy and the virtues of the haven.³

The relevant documents indicate the harbour as belonging to the manor of Flamborough,⁴ that is in the custody of the Constable family until 1537 when Sir Robert Constable was executed for his part in the Pilgrimage of Grace. After this date all the family estates including that at Flamborough were escheated to the Crown.⁵ By 1551 the pier had been destroyed by the sea.⁶ It was well and substantially rebuilt, probably after 1562 when the ruinous harbour along with certain other lands and properties were leased to certain villages with the proviso that all repairs be made good.⁷ About 1569 the harbour was again destroyed,⁸ and although it was intended to rebuild it once again in a more convenient place and with eight feet of water at the harbour mouth,⁹ there are no further reliable references to such a harbour. Brearley reports the mention of a harbour at Flamborough in a log book of 1729; it has not proved possible to trace this document.¹⁰

PART 3. TOWARDS AN INTERPRETATION.

None of the historical documents indicates the precise location of the harbour although there are, due to the nature of this steeply clifffed coastline, only two possible locations in the

1. *Victoria County History, Yorkshire, East Riding* Vol. II (1973), p. 158.

2. *Testamenta Eboracensis* I (1836), pp. 264-5

3. op.cit. in n. 1, p. 158.

4. Public Record Office: Exchequer augmentations office, E310/1/185, no. 21; Special collections, Ministers accounts, S.C. 6 Hen. VIII/4324.

5. *V.C.H. Yorks* III, pp. 412-14; *Monastic suppression papers* (Y.A.S.R.S. 48 (1912)), p. 39.

6. Public Record Office: Special Collections, Rolls, S.C. 11/732.

7. F.Brearley, *History of Flamborough* (1971).

8. Public Record Office: Exchequer King's remembrancer, E178/2564; Exchequer augmentations office, E310/29/173, no. 17.

9. E310/29/173, no. 17.

10. Brearley, op.cit. in n.7.



Plate 1. Flamborough South Landing: medieval harbour features, looking south-east.

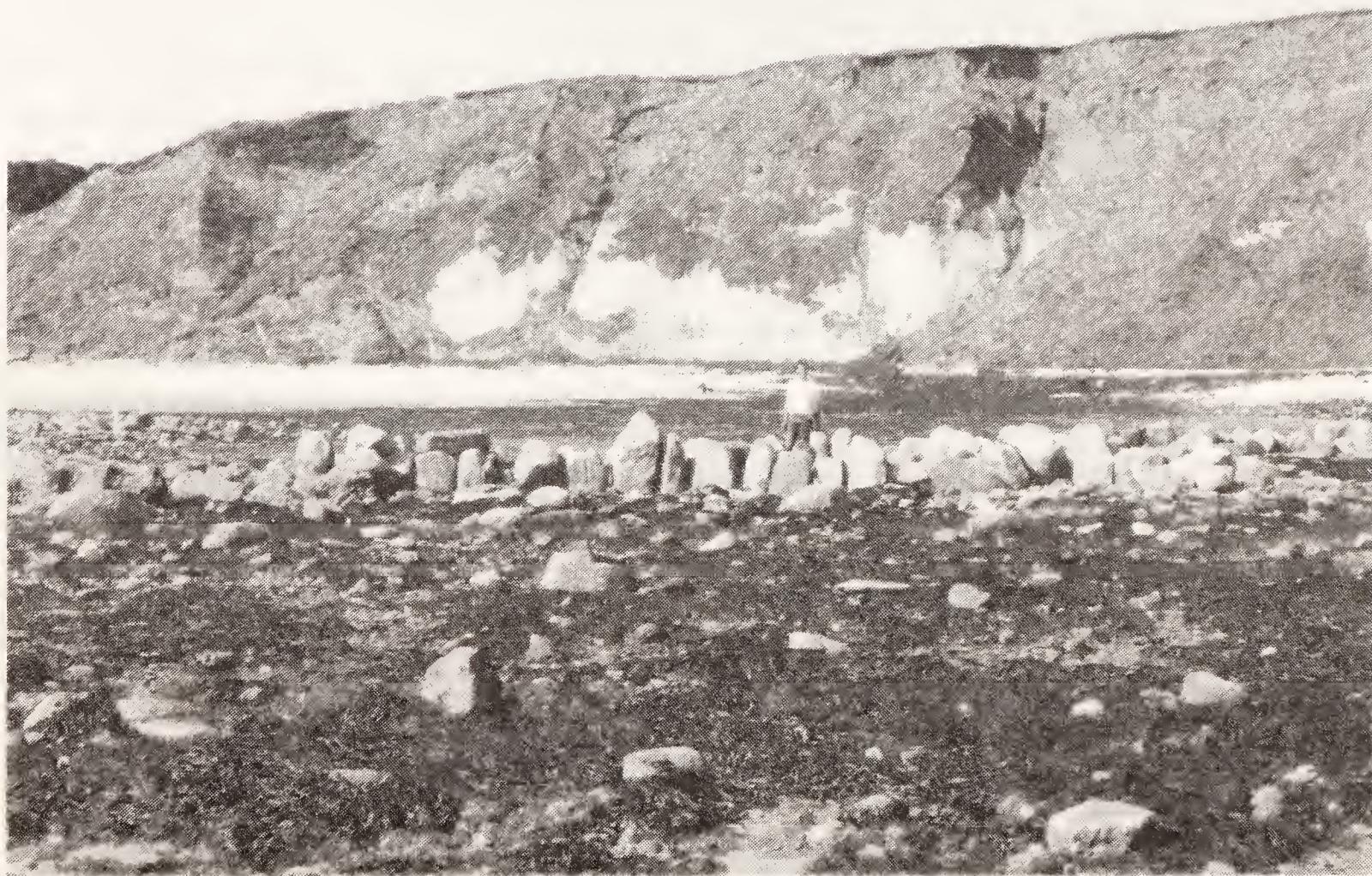


Plate 2. Flamborough: feature 3, looking north-west.



Plate 3. Flamborough: feature 3 (north arm), looking north-west.

Flamborough area; North Landing and South Landing. Both enjoy ready access from the headland plateau down to the shoreline and lay approximately two and a half, and one and a half kilometres distance respectively, from the village, one on the north side of Flamborough Head the other to the south. However, North Landing's steeply sided inlet lies exposed to the prevailing winds from the north-east, whilst South Landing is sheltered and protected behind the headland in the north of Bridlington Bay. This bay forms one of the few natural sheltering places along the entire Yorkshire coast; it was and still is a place where vessels congregate to safely ride out the not infrequent North Sea storms. On the basis of the topographical evidence South Landing is the logical choice for a harbour location. This claim may be further strengthened by the absence of any obvious archaeological remains at North Landing, and by local tradition which associates the harbour with South Landing. *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, and Brearley, both report that an elderly inhabitant of Flamborough recalled in his younger days seeing at South Landing the scanty remains of an old pier at an exceptionally low tide.¹¹ The present author has heard of no other reports nor seen for himself any indication of these remains, unless of course it was to the surveyed features which the man referred. Of more direct relevance would seem to be a comment made by Cottrell-Dormer, who in recounting some of the history of Flamborough reported that the foundation of the destroyed pier were still there.¹² Unfortunately he did not state whether the remains were at North or South Landing, though as was mentioned previously, none are visible at North Landing and elderly villagers approached on this subject have no recollections of there ever having been any. It is suggested here that it was in all probability the features extant at South Landing to which Cottrell-Dormer referred.

11. *Y.A.J.* 21 (1911), pp. 175-77.

12. E. Cottrell-Dormer (ed. R. Fisher), *Flamborough village and headland* (1894).

Due to the location of the three surveyed features it would appear that they are not likely to relate to anything other than port facilities of some sort; my opinion is that they are to be associated with the documented medieval harbours.

The only clues as to the natures of the harbours provided by the historical sources are that quays and piers were in existence, at certain periods at least, while a document of 1531 records that Sir Robert Constable reaffirmed his accustomed right of way between his manors of Flamborough and Holme on Spalding Moor, in particular for carts carrying timber to repair the pier.¹³ This latter would seem to indicate that wood formed a component part of certain at least of the harbours, though the only visible remains today are of stone. Nevertheless, these two pieces of archaeological and historical evidence may well be complementary.

At Bridlington, 6 kilometres to the south of Flamborough, a harbour has existed continuously from the twelfth century until the present day.¹⁴ This has formed a focus of study for several local historians, two of whom, have used the documentary records, particularly exchequer accounts and survey reports, in order to extrapolate its method of construction in the sixteenth century.¹⁵ Both authors report that several documents dating to shortly after the Reformation refer to rebuildings and repairs at the site. For example, suggestions were made to have the harbour constructed solely of stone using materials salvaged from the largely demolished Augustinian monastery in the town. However, due to the small size and softness of the stones it was decided, after consultations with local craftsmen, to rebuild it as it had been before, that is of wood and stone. Other documents referred to by the two authors describe a timber framework system of piers divided into 'rowmes' or sections by uprights, each section measuring approximately 12 feet in length. One document, quoted only by Purvis, refers to stone infills within the wooden frameworks. A synthesis of this documentary data for Bridlington harbour appears to describe in some clarity a system of wooden piers fabricated in semi-independent sections and partially at least, stone-filled, presumably for the purposes of stability. (see Fig 2. for reconstruction drawing).



Fig. 2. Bridlington: construction of sixteenth-century pier.

13. *Yorkshire Star Chamber Proceedings III* (*Y.A.A.R.S.* 51 (1914), p. 25.

14. op.cit. in n.1, pp. 47-9.

15. J.S. Purvis, Bridlington piers and harbours, Historical notes (unpublished paper in Bridlington reference library); E. Mellor, Bridlington harbour to the mid 19th century (unpublished paper (1960) in Bridlington reference library).

In view of evidence for timber and stone at Flamborough, and of the roughly contemporary knowledge of timber/stone harbour construction, it is suggested that the documented medieval harbours of Flamborough may well have been constructed in a similar fashion to that at Bridlington. The only remains of these are the stone concentrations of F.1., F.2. and F.3., representing the stone infill of a wooden pier system.

The use of non chalk stone has already been commented on though the causal factor(s) behind its conscious selection remains largely unsure. Chalk is softer in comparison to the other stones whose qualities of endurance were recognized by the local populace in their chalk buildings. These frequently use non chalk boulders for the first few courses, presumably to act as a damp proofing course whose absence might otherwise have led to the fragmentation of the chalk stones and hence to structural weaknesses. One alternative, though perhaps less likely, hypothesis that could account for the use of large numbers of non chalk boulders is that these may result from the clearance of fields. Quantities of largely unwanted boulders that might otherwise have lain at the edges of fields serving little purpose may have formed an ideal and readily available source.

It has not proved possible to synthesize further the, as always incomplete, archaeological and historical data. It was noted in Part 2. that there were what may be termed several phases of harbour development/construction, though the extent and nature of these remain uncertain. Attempts at relating any of the three observed features to specific phases of historical development are, on the present evidence, pointless. It may, for example, be the case that the features represent one, two, or three developments, which may or may not be contemporary with one another.

THE GOLDSMITHS OF CHURCH LANE, HULL: 1527-1784

By Ann Bennett

In 1801 a woollen-draper, John Hipsley, bought a run-down property on the north side of Church Lane, Hull, next to the junction with Market Place. He had already acquired the adjoining corner house, and by 1802 both had been demolished to make room for a substantial house and shop fronting on to Market Place.¹ Although Hipsley had apparently considered the Church Lane property too old-fashioned and cramped for his purposes, it had formerly been used as a goldsmith's shop and had a remarkably long association of over 250 years with this prestigious trade - wherever it appears in surviving documents from 1527 to 1784 it is recorded as owned or partly occupied by a goldsmith, and eleven are known to have worked or served an apprenticeship there.

Church Lane was one of the narrow central thoroughfares linking Hull's two most important streets (Pl. 1), running westwards from High Street to join Market Place a little to the north of Holy Trinity church, from which it took its name.² At the beginning of the sixteenth century a barber's shop stood at the High Street end of Church Lane and a brewhouse at the other, with tenements between leased to merchants, mariners and craftsmen working in the clothing and shoe trades.³ In 1527 a building on the north side of the street, next to the Market Place corner, was acquired by a goldsmith, John Harrison, through his marriage to Isabella Wylsime, a widow.⁴ The grant vesting this property in Harrison and his new wife was carefully noted in the Corporation's records, but it gives no details of the occupants or of the building itself, except that it was divided into two separate tenements. As far as is known, the Harrisons did not live in Church Lane but close to St. Mary's church, Lowgate where several members of the family are buried.⁵ A brass put up there in 1525 to the memory of Harrison's father (Pl. 2), shows the goldsmith as one of three brothers kneeling to the left of the main figure, and as the eldest of these John Harrison inherited his father's considerable estate.⁶ None of Harrison's work is known to have survived although he traded as a goldsmith from 1514 until at least 1529, when he is mentioned in the Account Book of the Guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary.⁷ A fee farm rental dated 1540/1 records that Alderman John Harrison was the owner of land on the north side of Church Lane, next to the Market Place corner,⁸ but at some time before he died on a visit to London during 1550, he had disposed of it.⁹

There is no evidence that Harrison established a goldsmith's shop or workroom in his Church Lane house, but it seems likely that some part of it was equipped for this purpose by 1591/2 when the next recorded owner was Peter Carlill, an important and successful

1. Humberside County Record Office, Books of Memorials of the East Riding Land Registry, Deeds Book CC533/801, DS149/185; Hull City Record Office, BRF 5/23.
2. Church Lane (formerly Kirk Lane) was originally part of Aldkirklane, which ran from west to east of the town. Marketgate ran from North to south of the town, and the section from Scale Lane to the Butchery was later known as Market Place. High Street was formerly known as Hull Street. All these changes took place gradually during the sixteenth century. (Hull CRO, D580, D724; D727, D745; D693, D.711).
3. R. Horrox, *The Changing Plan of Hull 1290-1650* (Hull, 1978), pp.145-9.
4. R. Horrox, *Changing Plan*, pp.147-8.
5. PRO, E179/203/186; M.E. Ingram, *Our Lady of Hull* (Hull, 1948), p.27.
6. J. Raine (ed.), *Testamenta Eboraciensia V*, Surtees Society, LXXIX (1884), p.212.
7. Hull CRO, BRG 1 f.34r; MII 1529/30.
8. Hull CRO, BRF 5/1.
9. Hull CRO, BRE 2 ff.158v-159v.

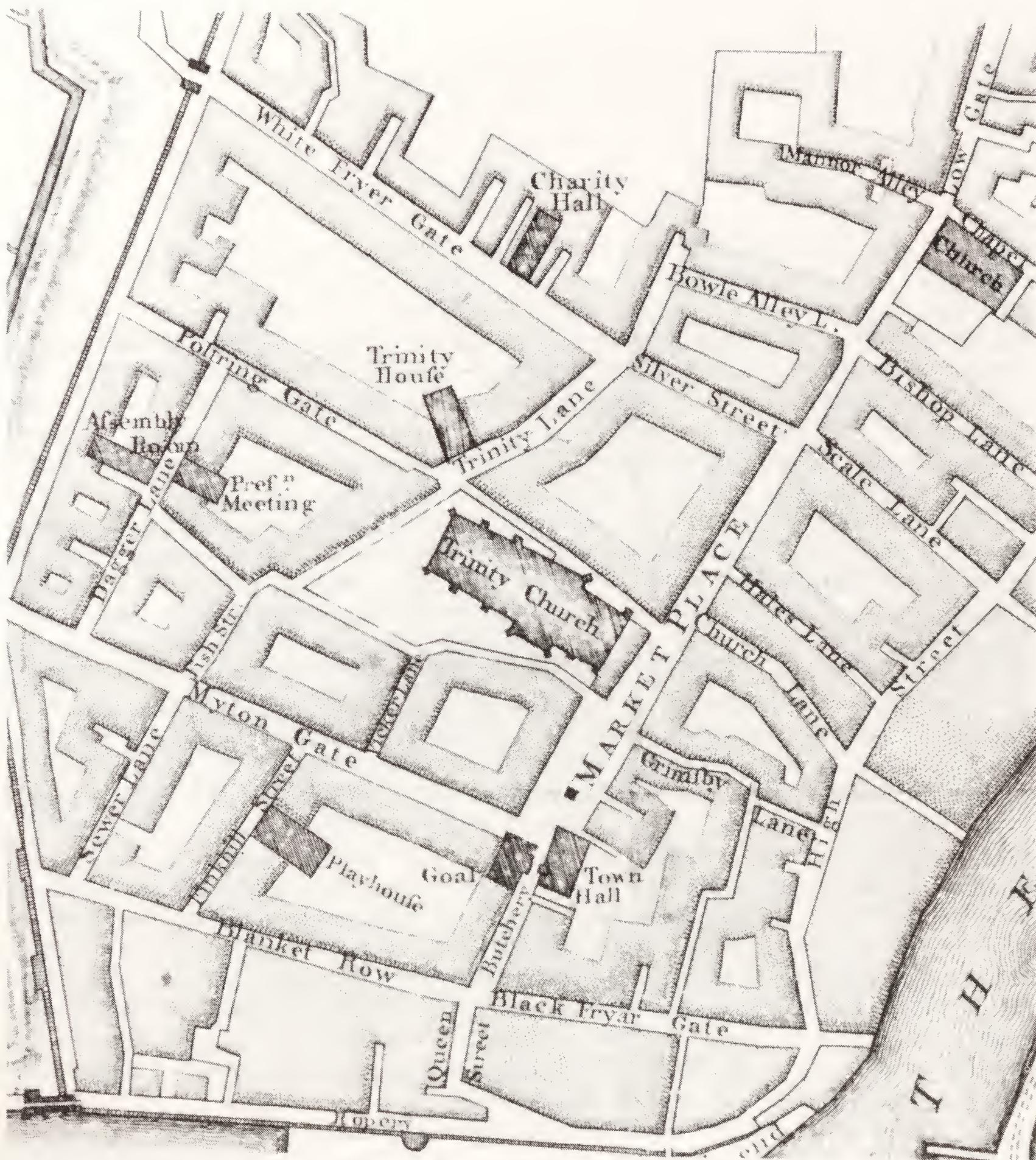


Plate 1. Detail of a Plan of Kingston upon Hull, 1772, from the Hull Local Studies Library collection.
By the courtesy of Humberside Libraries.
Mr.A. Marshall, University Photographer, University of Hull.

goldsmith.¹⁰ By this time Carlill was almost at the end of his long career. Having served an apprenticeship to the Hull maker Daniel Donne, he had taken up his freedom in 1556 at a difficult time for goldsmiths,¹¹ when the whole balance of their trade had been affected by the seizure of church plate during the Reformation. Silver and ornaments remaining in the churches had been removed to the king's jewel-house in 1553, leaving only chalices behind,

10. Hull CRO, BRF 5/2.

11. Hull CRO, BRG 1 f.30r.



Plate 2. The Harrison brass, St. Mary's church, Lowgate, Hull.

By courtesy of the Rev. P. Stuble.

Mr. A. Marshall, University Photographer, University of Hull.

and by c. 1560 it had been decided that these must be replaced by 'decent communion cups',¹² a transition which was to take place gradually, diocese by diocese. Carlill may have anticipated some increase in trade following this decision, and in 1562 he sent one of his communion cups to be assayed at the Goldsmiths' Hall in London, perhaps in the hope of attracting further orders.¹³ Local patrons may well have heard favourable reports about this fine piece, and six parish churches in both Yorkshire and Lincolnshire are known to

12. C. Oman, *English Church Plate 597-1830* (London, 1957), p.135.

13. I am grateful to Miss S.M. Hare, Librarian of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths, for her interpretation of the London hallmark on this piece.

J.B Fay, *Exhibition of Silver made by the Goldsmiths of Kingston upon Hull in the XVIth and XVIIth Centuries* (1951), pp. 6-7.

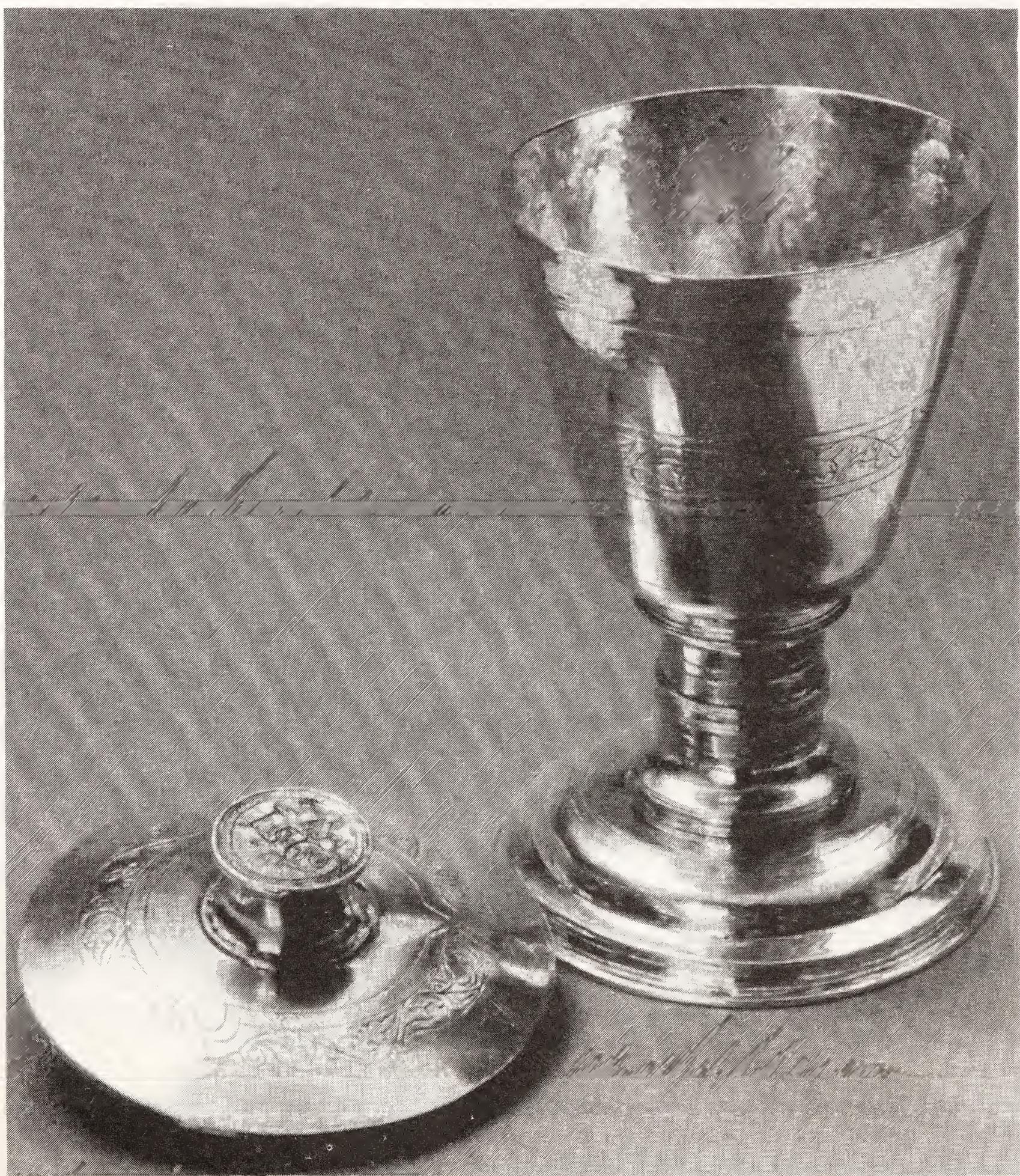


Plate 3. Communion cup and paten cover by Peter Carlill of Hull.
6 in. high overall.
Mr. A. Marshall, University Photographer, University of Hull.

have ordered their cups from Peter Carlill, one of which (Pl. 3), can be dated to 1569 from the engraving on its paten cover. Peter Carlill's son, James, took up his freedom by patrimony in 1591¹⁴ but was working independently as early as 1587 when he made a silver-gilt communion cup presented to Holy Trinity church, Hull.¹⁵ The only other pieces which can be attributed to him with any certainty are five seal-top spoons, although he went on trading as a goldsmith until at least 1607, and in due course he inherited his father's Church Lane workshop.¹⁶

After James Carlill's death in September 1617,¹⁷ the building in Church Lane was administered by his heirs and part of it was leased to a goldsmith, Robert Robinson,¹⁸ who bought his freedom of Hull in November 1617, and later married Carlill's younger daughter, Anna.¹⁹ Only a coconut cup and a few spoons are known to have survived out of Robinson's whole output of domestic silver, although twelve communion cups made by him are still used in local churches - more than by any other Hull goldsmith.²⁰ Robinson acquired a considerable amount of investment property and land,²¹ and by 1641 he was among the town's wealthiest and most influential inhabitants, serving as chamberlain during 1641/2.²² In Hull, as elsewhere, the goldsmiths found that their trade declined during the Civil War, when citizens were put under considerable pressure to give up both money and silver towards the cost of maintaining the garrison,²³ and there was little demand for plate, even at the lowest prices.²⁴ Robinson's wealth and status may have helped him to weather the difficult years of the Civil War, and by c. 1645 he was optimistic enough about the future of his trade to take on James Birkby, his nephew, as an apprentice. Birkby served his time in the Church Lane workshop, and after becoming a freeman in 1651, he immediately set up his own business in separate premises nearby.²⁵

Robinson had not acquired the Church Lane property through his marriage into the Carlill family, but at some time during the Commonwealth period he bought it,²⁶ and his will records that it was still divided into two tenements in 1659, with Robinson living in one, and the other let to his sister-in-law, Thomasin Birkby. During the 1650s Robinson set about making certain enlargements and improvements to his own half of the building, although it is not clear from his will which side this was. He built a more impressive entrance ('portal') at the front using space from a low room next to the street, while at the back he took a strip of land a yard wide from the Birkbys' garden and added it to his own. He also extended his kitchen by taking an area 4½ yards long (the width is not given), and into this new space he put a dresser-cupboard and a door linking the two households.²⁷ There were close ties between these families and it seems likely that Robinson's premises would have passed to James Birkby in due course if the younger man had not died in September 1659, aged only 32.²⁸ On the following Christmas Day Robinson composed his will, leaving the tenement he occupied to his wife during her lifetime and thereafter to

14. Hull CRO, BRG 1 f.132r.

15. Fay, *Exhibition*, p.7.

16. Humb. CRO, PE 158/1 p.406; Hull CRO , BRF 5/3.

17. Humb. CRO, PE 158/1 p. 447.

18. Hull CRO, BRF 5/3; CAT 5. The Robinsons are known to have been there in 1634.

19. Hull CRO, BRG 1 f.228r; Humb. CRO, PE 158/1 p.234.

20. Fay, *Exhibition*, pp.6-10.

21. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Prob. Reg. 43A ff.2r-4v; Hull CRO, CAT 34.

22. Hull CRO, BRB 3, p.542; CAT 14.

23. Hull CRO, BRS 7/30, 47, 72, 74.

24. F.W. Brooks (ed.), *The First Order Book of the Hull Trinity House 1632-1665*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, CV (1942), pp. 62, 69.

25. Hull CRO, BRG 2 f. 21r; Fay, *Exhibition*, pp.11-12; Hull CRO, CAT 34.

26. BIHR, Prob. Reg. 43A f.2r.

27. BIHR, Prob. Reg. 43A ff.2r-2v.

28. Humb. CRO, PE 158/1 p.128; PE 158/3 p.331.

James Birkby's young son, Peter, instructing that the ground he had taken for his own use was to be restored. Robinson's will suggests that he was a generous and warm-hearted man. He is not known to have had any children but he provided handsomely for nieces and nephews, and left sums of money to many friends, including twenty shillings to the Hull goldsmith John Watson, and to the families of two York makers - the Plummers and the Harringtons.²⁹ It may have been through this connection that another York goldsmith, Edward Mangie, heard of Robinson's death at the beginning of April 1660, and later that same month he travelled to Hull to buy his freedom of the town and establish his own business there.³⁰ In a tax assessment of October 1660 which records household groups in Trinity Ward, Mangie is listed next to Mrs. Robinson and her servants, suggesting that he was already living under her roof, and by 1664 she had moved out altogether.³¹ Later deeds confirm that the Mangies were still living in this same tenement next to the Market Place corner, in 1709, and that they were still there in 1723 when their neighbour in the adjoining half of the building was Thomas Auckland, a glover.³² Despite their long association with this property the Mangies never bought it, and by c. 1670 their landlord was Thomas Clayton, a prosperous cordwainer who traded close by in Market Place.³³ It is not known how many rooms were let to the Mangies, but in 1673 Edward was taxed on five hearths for his accommodation,³⁴ and this was perhaps comparable with the Stanfield tenement on the north side of Church Lane, which also had five hearths and comprised three low rooms, with three chambers and two garrets above.³⁵

In 1673 Richard Blome was much impressed by the thriving port of Hull, which he considered inferior only to Bristol and London. He found its customs house and quay packed with merchants trading in all sorts of goods, and High Street full of shops supplying tar, cordage, sails, and everything else necessary to replenish ships tied up in the haven.³⁶ At the time of his visit Church Lane was lined with substantial family houses occupied by prosperous tradesmen and master-mariners, as well as large and small shops selling pewter, plate, cutlery and linen goods.³⁷ Some of the buildings had projecting upper stories, and the street itself was paved with large, rounded cobbles with a 'common sewer' running down the centre.³⁸ Residents of Church Lane are known to have used this shared drain to wash and rinse their clothes out of doors, but in 1683 they were singled out and forbidden to do so, perhaps because it was causing some obstruction to through traffic.³⁹ Church Lane was particularly crowded on market days when salt-butter was sold across its western end,

29. BIHR, Prob. Reg. 43A f.4v.

30. Humb. CRO, PE 158/3 p.336; Hull CRO, BRG 2 p.57; A Bennett, 'The Mangies of Hull', *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 57 (1985), pp. 149-50.

31. Hull CRO CAT 39; PRO, E179/205/499.

32. Humb. CRO, Land Reg. DB A134/195, H49/996.

33. Humb CRO, Land Reg. DB A134/95; Hull CRO BRB 4 p.90.

34. PRO, E179/205/505. There is no evidence that Mangie had to pay for his furnace.

35. Humb. CRO, Land Reg. DB E89/154.

36. R. Blome, *Britannia* (1673), p.254.

37. Hull CRO, CAT 59 (Trinity Ward); PRO, E170/205/505.

William Carleton, merchant(6 hearths) - Humb. CRO, Land Reg. DB 049/98.

John Baker, Pewterer (6 hearths) - Humb. CRO, Land Reg. DB G419/904.

Alderman Anthony Iveson, linen draper (5 hearths) BIHR, Prob. Reg. 64 f.118r. Humb. CRO, Land Reg. DB E168/288.

Matthias Waller, barber-surgeon (5 hearths) - Hull CRO D896A.

Ann Stanfield, widow of Samuel Stanfield, master-mariner (5 hearths) - Humb. CRO, Land Reg. DB E89/154.

Marmaduke Woodhouse, master-mariner (4 hearths) - Humb. CRO Land Reg. DB A629/894.

Thomas Fowler, cutler (3 hearths) - Humb. CRO, Land Reg. DB E110/193.

38. J. Sheahan, *A History of Hull* (Beverley, 1866), p. 194; E. Gillett and K. MacMahon, *A History of Hull* (Oxford 1980), p.202.

39. Hull CRO, BRB 6 p. 53.

and horse-drawn sleds hired to take the butter away were ordered by the Bench to wait some distance down the street to ease congestion.⁴⁰ Carts, haywains and livestock of all kinds were brought into Market Place, corn was sold close to the Mytongate corner, and cattle and sheep on the south side of the Cross.⁴¹ The market was efficiently run by the Corporation who also took care to see that this central part of the town was kept in a reasonably clean and orderly state. The market keeper was responsible for dressing the street from the Town Hall at its southern end up to the White Horse inn, just beyond Church Lane, and for taking away the rubbish left by traders. Inhabitants were expected to sweep in front of their own walls and doors, and other refuse was dealt with by Ann Herring, the public scavenger, who went round at least once a week with her horse and sled.⁴² Alderman were asked to keep an eye on disreputable newcomers in their wards, and constables went out every Sunday after evening service to search for troublemakers drinking in alehouses.⁴³ Even rowdy grammar school boys causing a disturbance in the churchyard and climbing on the leads of the church were threatened that they would have to go before Mr. Mayor if their behaviour did not improve.⁴⁴ The lives of citizens were regulated by the chimes and clock of Holy Trinity and by a series of bell-men employed by the Corporation. The ‘five-o’ clock man’ called through the street at this time on five mornings a week, the sexton rang the scholars’ bell in the morning and the gate bell at night, and on dark evenings a cryer went round reminding people to hang out their lanterns.⁴⁵

Mangie’s premises were almost at the centre of Hull’s flourishing and well-ordered Market Place, with prosperous neighbours on all sides, and his business thrived. He offered a variety of domestic pieces for sale, including highly fashionable ‘pots of chasework’,⁴⁶ and he also made church plate, as well as maces for both Hull and Grimsby Corporations (Pl. 4).⁴⁷ After his death in 1685⁴⁸ his widow, Katherine, took charge of his workshop, and among pieces bearing her mark are communion cups (Pl. 5), an oval tobacco box and spoons.⁴⁹ However, tax assessments suggest that she had to face some competition from her husband’s former apprentice, Thomas Hebden,⁵⁰ who worked close to the Mangies, apparently on the south side of Church Lane.⁵¹ Hebden traded there from 1681 until his death in 1695,⁵² repairing the Corporation’s silver, and producing both church and domestic plate, notably a fine peg-tankard on pomegranate feet (Pl. 6), presented to the Corporation of Hedon in 1689.⁵³

The Mangies stayed on in Church Lane after Edward’s death, and by 1709 their own tenement, together with the adjoining part of the building, had been inherited by Edward Gibson, a master-mariner.⁵⁴ Gibson, who seems to have been continually in need of money

40. Hull CRO, BRB 4 pp.45, 445.

41. Hull CRO, BRB 4 p.505; BRB 5 p.119.

42. Hull CRO, BRB 4 p.485, BRB 5 p.42.

43. Hull CRO, BRB 5 p.85.

44. Hull CRO, BRB 4, p.401.

45. Hull CRO, BRB 4 pp.102, 257, 272-3, 401, BRB 5 p.60.

46. An embossed porringer by Thomas Mangy of York, presented to the Hull Corporation in 1668, was described in this way, (Hull CRO, BRB 5 p.165.)

47. Fay, *Exhibition*, pp. 12-16.

48. Humb. CRO, PE 158/3 f.70.

49. Fay, *Exhibition*, pp.16-17.

50. Hull CRO, PUH 134 1692-5; WV 35.

51. Hebden was consistently listed next to Anthony Iveson who lived on the southern corner of Market Place and Church Lane, and among others known to have lived in Church Lane. (Hull CRO, PUH 134 1692-5; WV 35; note 37 above).

52. Hull CRO, WV 7-9, 35; PUH 134 1692-5; Humb. CRO, PE 158/76 f.61.

53. Hull CRO, BRF 1 1694/5; Fay, *Exhibition*, pp.17-18.

54. Humb. CRO, Land Reg. DB A134/195.

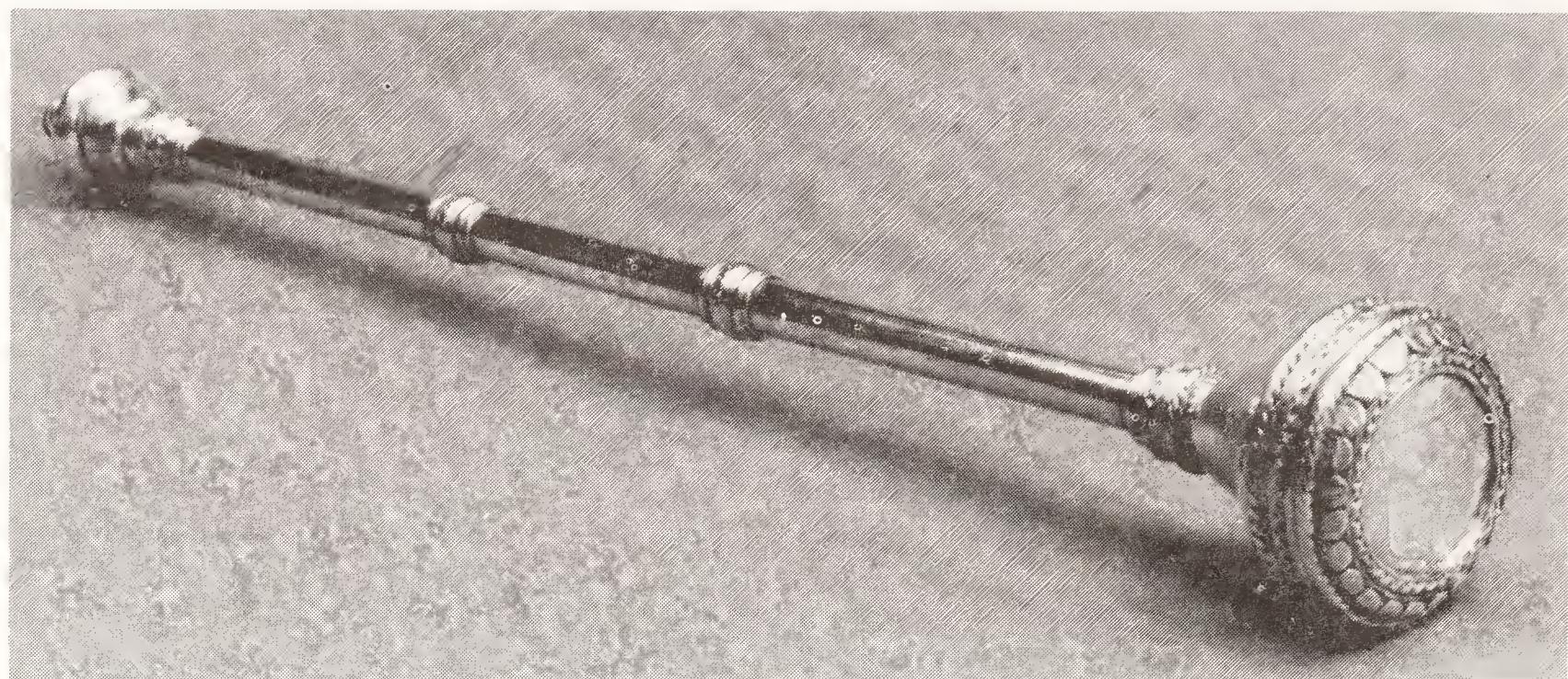


Plate 4. The Hull Sheriff's County Mace, by Edward Mangie of Hull.
16½ in. long.

By courtesy of Hull City Council.

Mr. A. Marshall, University Photographer, University of Hull.

at that time, mortgaged the whole property twice, and having cleared his debts by 1715, he immediately sold it to a fellow-mariner, Allen Pearson.⁵⁵ The deeds of these various transactions give no hint as to which half of the premises was occupied by the Mangies, but a glover is known to have been trading at the eastern side in 1725,⁵⁶ suggesting that the goldsmith's shop was to the west, nearest to the Market Place corner. In 1725 Mrs. Mangie died at the great age of 88 having kept some control of the family firm until the very end.⁵⁷ Her son, Edward, traded as a goldsmith in Church Lane for a further nine years but in 1734 he was described as 'gentleman' implying that he had retired, and in 1739 he died.⁵⁸ It is not known how long his two sisters, Katherine and Elizabeth, kept on their old home after this date, or even if they went on living together. They had apparently quarrelled most bitterly and Katherine eventually left the greater part of her money to a niece in London, five pounds to a servant, and an insulting bequest of one guinea to her sister. After Katherine's death in 1747 there is no trace of any member of the family living in Hull.⁵⁹

By 1748 Allen Pearson had sold his Church Lane property to Peter Peasegood, a merchant, and a mortgage registered in that year records that both halves of the building were leased to Robert Jones, a goldsmith, who was subletting some part of it to undertenants.⁶⁰ It is not clear whether Jones took over directly from Mangie, but an original lease of June 1763 records that he was living in 'a messuage late Mr Edward Mangies and now occupied by Robert Jones',⁶¹ suggesting that the interval between their tenancies was not a long one. Jones kept a retail shop there,⁶² but he was also a working craftsman, and the maker of an extremely rare almshouse badge for the Ann Routh

55. Humb. CRO, Land Reg. DB E196/340, E277/494.

56. Humb. CRO, Land Reg. DB 1247/560, E196/340.

57. Humb. CRO, PE 158/76 f.221, J.W. Clay (ed.), *Paver's Marriage Licences II*, YASRS, XLIII (1911), p.14, Katherine Mangie was aged 24 in 1661; Hull CRO, BRF 6/494.

58. Humb. CRO, Land Reg. DB N134/291, N336/739; Hull CRO, PUH 178 1736; BIHR, original wills, June 1739.

59. BIHR, original wills, August 1747.

60. Humb. CRO, Land Reg. DB T258/520.

61. Original lease, 1 June 1763. Information kindly supplied by Mrs. E. Hall.

62. Hull CRO, CQE 2/161.



Plate 5. Communion cup and paten cover by Katherine Mangie of Hull.
7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. high overall.
Mr. A. Marshall, University Photographer, University of Hull.

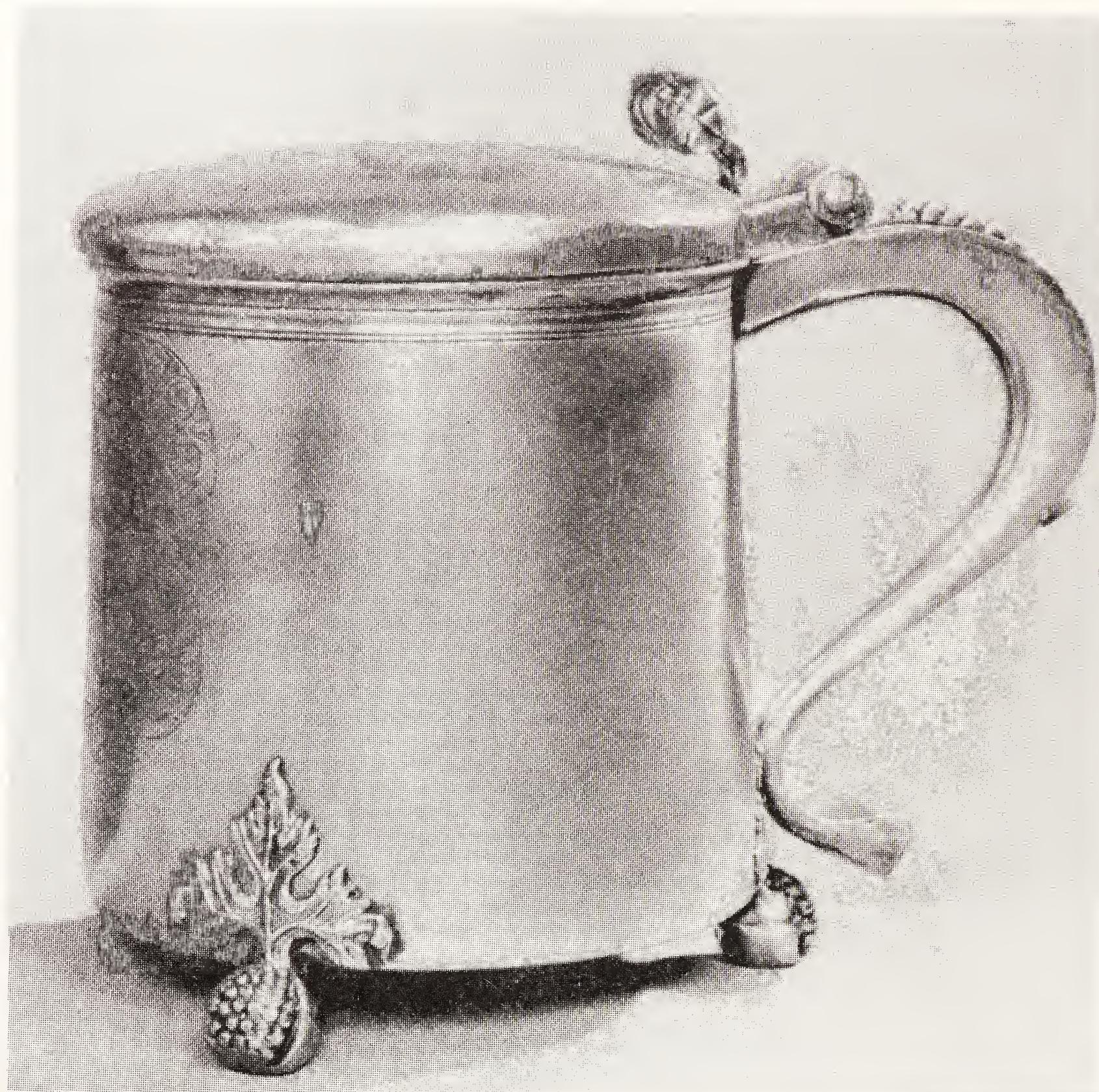


Plate 6. Tankard by Thomas Hebden of Hull, the interior set with five pegs marking different levels. 7 in. high.
By courtesy of Hedon Town Council.

hospital, Beverley c.1750 (Pl. 7).⁶³ During the 1740s and 1750s he supplied, repaired and engraved plate for the Hull Corporation, and a surviving bill shows that he was working with his son, Josiah, in 1754.⁶⁴ By 1779 the younger man had taken over the business altogether and in that year he received an important order from Hull Corporation for two silver boxes to be presented to honorary freemen of the town, which he duly ordered from the London maker James Phipps. A few days before the agreed delivery date Jones was shocked to hear that one of the lids had been damaged during manufacture, and he immediately sent a letter apologising for an inevitable delay of one week while it was being repaired. 'Punctuality to promise and engagements in Business are so much the bent of my Heart', he wrote, 'that an appearance of disingenuity gives me more pain than I would

63. Information kindly supplied by Mr. Wynyard R.T. Wilkinson, owner of the badge.

64. R. Alec-Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné of the Corporation Plate and Insignia of the City and County of Kingston upon Hull* (Driffield, 1973), p.119; Hull CRO, BRF 6/782.



Plate 7. An almshouse badge made for the Ann Routh Hospital, Beverley, by Robert Jones of Hull. 3½ in. wide. By courtesy of Mr. Wynyard R.T. Wilkinson.

wish to my greatest enemy'.⁶⁵ Jones must have feared that he would lose an important customer and was probably not overstating the anguish he felt, but despite this temporary setback the firm continued to prosper. In 1782 Josiah Jones sent his son, Robert, to begin an apprenticeship with the important York goldsmiths Hampston and Prince,⁶⁶ and the following year he bought a house in Market Place which was then demolished and rebuilt as number 17.⁶⁷ He was still living in Church Lane during 1784 but by 1791 he had moved out to Quay Street, and had handed over the business to Anthony Jones, goldsmith and jeweller, who was trading at 17, Market Place.⁶⁸ Josiah Jones was the last goldsmith to work in the Church Lane shop, and by 1802 it had been completely demolished.

At that time Hull's Market Place was 'a spacious and magnificent street' with a variety of elegant shops full of rich merchandise,⁶⁹ but directories suggest that Church Lane was already becoming less exclusive,⁷⁰ and this decline continued steadily throughout the nineteenth century (Pl. 8). By c. 1880 the premises of a fish-curer and a slaughter-house stood at the Market Place end and a lodging-house at the other, with many of the buildings

65. Hull CRO, BRL 386/41.

66. M. Gubbins, *The Assay Office and Silversmiths of York 1776-1858* (York, 1983), p. 57.

67. Humb. CRO, Land Reg. DB Bff421/694, FQ170/184.

68. Humb. CRO, Land. Reg. DB Bff438/723; *Facsimile Reprint of the First Hull Directory Published in 1791* (Hull, 1885), p. 27.

69. J. Tickell, *The History of the Town and County of Kingston upon Hull* (Hull 1796), p. 841.

70. R. Battle, *Directory of Hull* (1803, 1814/15).



Plate 8. A view of Church Lane looking towards High Street, c. 1880. From the Fewster Collection of Drawings of Old Hull.

By courtesy of Hull Museums and Art Galleries.

between used as warehouses for provisions or wholesale drugs, reflecting the huge demand for patent medicines at that time, notably Reinhardt's well-known castor-oil pills which were manufactured in Church Lane.⁷¹ Tradesmen in the street provided a range of useful services rather than luxury goods, and included a sweep, a plumber and an undertaker,⁷² but in 1882 a shop on the northern side was occupied by Mrs. Charlotte Rust, one of a long-established family of Hull goldsmiths who were also trading in Market Place.⁷³ Mrs. Rust is known to have stayed on until 1899,⁷⁴ bringing the association between Church Lane and the trade of goldsmiths almost into the twentieth century. The street no longer exists but Hull's Old Town is flourishing once again, and the site of the former goldsmiths' shop in Church Lane now lies within the north-western corner of King William House, which stands in Market Place and was completed in 1976.

71. C.E. Goad, Fire Insurance Plan of Hull, (1886); Humb. CRO, Land Reg. DB HL46/61, HL 48/62.

72. Goad, Plan of Hull

73. W. White, *General and Commercial Directory of Hull* (1882), p.130.

74. W. Cook, *Directory of Hull and District* (1899), p.48.

I am grateful to Mr. G.W. Oxley of the Hull City Record Office, and Mrs. C.A. Boddington of the Humberside County Record Office, for their help in suggesting relevant documents.

THE RESTORATION BOURCHIERS OF BENINGBROUGH GRANGE

By Pat Taylor

Surprisingly little has been known about the Bourchier family who owned the Beningbrough estates near York for two hundred and seventy years (1557-1827). Yet the extent of their lands there, and elsewhere in Yorkshire, at the peak of their eighteenth-century prosperity indicates that the Bourchiers were important land-owners. Their wealth and line had been founded in the sixteenth century by Ralph Bourchier of Haughton, Staffordshire, who inherited Beningbrough Grange¹ from his uncle, John Banester of London. Ralph, whose father James Bourchier was an illegitimate son of the second Lord Berners,² appears to 'have made his way' both through office holding in Yorkshire and with a long career in the House of Commons.³ Yet our knowledge of Sir Ralph Bourchier, as of other members of this family, remains slight. The only one who has achieved his own place in the nation's history, and that with sometimes misplaced notoriety,⁴ is Sir John Bourchier, the Puritan squire⁵ and regicide (d. 1660).⁶ Sir John

1. In 1541 the grange was leased for life to Thos. Magnus, master of St. Leonard's Hospital. Banester obtained the reversion of Beningbrough grange in Jan. 1544/5, together with 'the grange in the parish of Newton and certain lands and woods in Beningbrough, Newton and the Galtresse forest, Yorks.', in fee for two closes in St. Pancras, Middlesex, and payment of £180.10. 8d (*L.P. Henry VIII Vol. XIX Part 1 p. 77* - HMSO 1903). Sir Leonard Beckwith was 'of Beningbrugh' in 1555 (York Arch. Soc. MSS MD 161/C.) and in 1557, following the death of Banester, obtained a further lease on the grange (Chan. Inq. p.m. Ser. 2 cvii, 39). Beckwith himself died in the same year (J. W. Clay ed. *Dugdale's Visitation with Additions* (1899) p. 269. The earliest traced record of Ralph Bourchier being at Beningbrough grange is dated 1576 (*Yorkshire Deeds II* p. 130 Y.A.S. Record Series), although he was active in local affairs in the early 1560s (*York Civic Records VI* - Y.A.S. Record Series Vol. CXII; cf. P. W. Hasler *The House of Commons 1558-1603*). It is understood that Sir Ralph re-built the grange south-east of the present Hall but it is not yet clear whether the original house was on the same site - Wm. Page *Victoria History of the North Riding* Vol. II pp. 162, 164.
2. James Bourchier married Mary Banester, dau. of Sir Humfrey Banester of Calais, and sole heir to her brother John - *Ibid.* James inherited the manor of Haughton and other lands in Staffs. from John Bourchier, Lord Berners, the Deputy of Calais 1520-1533. A series of disputes with the Stafford branch of this ancient family over ownership ended when Philip and Mary restored Haughton manor to Ralph Bourchier - *Victoria County History of Staffordshire* Vol. IV p. 138; W. R. Shepherd *The History of Kirby Underdale Appendix One* (1932).
3. North Riding J.P. from c. 1573; High Sheriff of Yorks 1580; Member of the Commons for Newcastle under Lyme (1571, 1572 - 1583) Newport, I.O.W. (1585), Scarborough (1586), Knight for Yorkshire 1588 - 1592. Knighted 1583. (P. W. Hasler *op. cit.* p. 460).
4. Sir John Bourchier of Beningbrough has frequently been confused with his uncle Sir John Bourchier of Hanging Grimston, merchant and projector. It was the latter who was one of the original patentees of the C17th alum industry in Cleveland and who is said to have died 'heavily indebted in 1626'. Rachel Reid in *King's Council in the North* (1920) contributed to this confusion but see the detailed account in R. Turton's *Alum Farms* (1938), the *Victoria History of Yorkshire* Vol. II pp. 381 - 386 and J. T. Cliffe, *The Yorkshire Gentry*.
5. I have accepted secondary evidence from several sources on Sir John's religious affiliations. See espec. J. W. Cliffe *op. cit.* pp. 343 - 351 on calvinist tendencies among the Yorkshire squires in the early 17th C. The influence, and the family connections, of Sir John's mother Katherine, dau. of Sir Thos. Barrington of Hatfield Broak Oak, Essex, was no doubt significant. As a ward she had lived in the 'godly household' of the Earl of Huntingdon - cf. Claire Cross, *The Puritan Earl* (1966 London: MacMillan) Chp. 2.
6. Sir Wm. Dugdale's Heraldic Visitation of 1655 (Surtees Society Vol. XXXVI 1859) gives the date of death as being 5 Dec. 1659 but the *House of Commons Journal* for 18 June 1660 names Sir John among those who had surrendered after the return of Chas. II. Untraced family papers held by a Rev. L. G. C. Bourchier and quoted in *The History of Kirby Underdale* by W. R. Shepherd give the date of Sir John's burial as 8 August 1660 at the church of St. Mary Magdalene, Milk St., London.

apart, there is but the merest and very occasional glimpse of any of the Bourchiers of Yorkshire as they appear ‘in the wings’ of historical record, narrative or biography. In the absence of family papers even local historians have had little more to tell us. However, the recent discovery of some late seventeenth-century probate documents, together with the further research that these have encouraged, has proved most useful. It has thus become possible to shed some light on the family life and fortunes of the Bourchiers in the second half of the seventeenth century following the death of Sir John, saved from a traitor’s death by a whisker.

A RESTORATION SETTLEMENT - BARRINGTON BOURCHIER (*d. 1680*)

Barrington Bourchier, Esquire, eldest son of Sir John, gave his age as thirty-eight years at the time of the Dugdale Visitation of September 1665. He had entered Grays Inn with two younger brothers in March 1641,⁷ a legal training being considered suitable preparation for the public and private life of the gentry in a period when litigation was on the increase. Responsibilities in the service of Parliament came early. At the age of eighteen, Barrington was working with his father as a Commissioner for the Northern Association; in the same year of 1645 he served on the Commission for ‘the compounding of delinquents’ being an examiner, for instance, of Thomas Slingsby of Scriven and Sir James Pennyman of Ormesby.⁸ Barrington Bourchier held appointments as justice of the peace from 1646 to 1653 and again from 1656 to July 1660. There is, however, only one recorded instance of his presence at the North Riding Quarter Sessions as a justice, that is for Helmsley in 1649.⁹ This omission is not fully explained either by any inability to hold Quarter Sessions due to ‘these troublesom times’, or by Barrington’s pre-occupation with other known work. For there are no further appointments recorded for him until the last years of the Interregnum when, with his father and father-in-law, Sir William Stickland of Boynton, Barrington Bourchier was named as a Commissioner for the Assessment in 1657 and January 1660, and for the militia in 1659 and March 1660.¹⁰ There is, therefore, in this period, a seven-year gap in the record of Bourchier’s career which as yet remains un-explained. Domestic developments took place, however, in these years. About 1650, in a union of families which further strengthened the network of ascendant puritan gentry in Yorkshire and the Commonwealth,¹¹ Barrington had married Frances Strickland. There were two children to this marriage, both being baptized at Newton Parish Church - Barrington (1651) and Frances (1652).

There is some evidence that, as national events moved towards the restoration of Charles II, Barrington Bourchier’s political affiliations were Presbyterian, despite Sir John’s staunch loyalty to the Independents in Parliament. Sir Henry Cholmley, Frances Strickland’s uncle,¹² claimed later that Barrington had been active in support of ‘Booth’s

7. The Surtees Society 1859 p. 140; J. W. Clay *op. cit.* p. 307.
8. C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait ed. *Acts & Ordinances of the Interregnum* (1911) p. 706; J. W. Clay (ed.) *Royalist Composition Papers* - Y.A.S. Record Series Vol XV pp. 123-126 and 187-192. It is noted that when only sixteen years Barrington obtained a pass to ‘go beyond the Seas’ accompanied by Parliamentarian Luke Robinson, of Thornton Hall, Yorks., and two servants; destination and purpose unknown - (C. J. Vol. III 11/7/1643).
9. B. D. Henning *The House of Commons 1660 - 1690* (1983 HMSO) p. 693 - sources in T. G. Barnes ‘libri pacis’ in *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* Vol. xxxii pp. 239-240; J. C. Atkinson *Quarter Session Records* - North Riding Record Society (1884) Vol. V, p. 17).
10. C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait *op. cit.* pp. 1068, 1324, 1368 and 1445.
11. For instance, Sir John Bourchier and his siblings were all related by marriage to Oliver Cromwell through their mother Katherine Barrington and, therefore, also linked to the cousinage of John Hampden and Oliver St. John. (A. Fraser Cromwell; R. Reid *The King’s Council for the North*). Also they were first cousins to Sir Thos. Maulever of Allerton, another regicide, through the marriage of their aunt Katherine Bourchier.
12. Margaret, wife of Sir Wm. Strickland, was sister to Sir Hugh and Sir Henry Cholmley. In the Civil War they began as Parliamentarians but later supported Charles II, spending some time with him in exile.



Plate 1.?Barrington Bourchier Esquire, 1627-80. Painted in c.1650. In Lady Chesterfield's Room, Beningbrough Hall. *Photograph: William Hadley.*

'Affair', an abortive insurrection of cavaliers and presbyterians planned to coincide with an expected landing of the exiled king in August 1659. The plot was betrayed and rebellion largely forestalled except in Cheshire where Sir George Booth had control for a few days. In January 1660 there was a rising of the gentry of Yorkshire led by Lord Fairfax which secured Monck's advance south against possible interference from Lambert's force. A. H. Woolrych concludes in 'Yorkshire and the Restoration' that this event also had a political complexion that was strongly Presbyterian. It seems, therefore, to have been more than coincidence that as General Monck approached York he was met by Barrington Bourchier, High Sheriff of the County, and son and heir of a regicide.¹³

13. *The Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England* Vol. xxiii p. 8; D.N.B. - Sir Geo. Booth; *Commons Journal* 1659 - 60 Aug. and Sept. *passim*; Woolrych *op. cit* in *Y.A.J.* Vol. 39.

The events of 1659 and 1660 reveal a groundswell of concern in the country that order and stability should be re-established and a growing opinion among the gentry that the ‘good order’ which they required could now only be achieved by the restoration of the monarchy, although this must be accompanied by guarantees for the liberty of Parliament. The petitions which Monck received as he journeyed south in the winter of 1659/60 were for a ‘free Parliament’, a recurring cry in this Stuart century. Following his sojourn in York, for instance, he was presented with a request from the Aldermen and Common Council of the city, together with fifty-six other subscribers, for the restoration of the Parliament of November 1640, that is the Long Parliament, with ‘all vacancies filled’. Appended to the petition, which was later published in London and York,¹⁴ was a supporting letter dated February 10th 1660 from Thomas Fairfax, Thomas Viscount Fauconberg, Barrington Bourchier, High Sheriff, and Christopher Topham, Mayor.¹⁵ The Rump Parliament, of which Sir John Bourchier was still a member, penalised Barrington for his part in this Declaration. A ‘lone martyr’ in Yorkshire, he was summarily removed from the office of High Sheriff, denied the opportunity to hold this for another year, and apparently imprisoned.¹⁶ However, the days of the Rump were numbered. In March the excluded members were re-admitted and the Long Parliament finally dissolved.

When a new Parliament met on 25th April, Barrington Bourchier was the member for Thirsk, a seat under the influence of Viscount Fauconberg.¹⁷ It was this Parliament, presbyterian and royalist in composition, which accepted the Declaration issued from Breda on 4th April, and which summoned Charles II back to England. The King returned on 25th May; the House of Commons summoned the regicides to give themselves up and Sir John surrendered himself on 18th June 1660.¹⁸ He was released from the Tower because of illness as both Houses of Parliament argued over the exceptions to be made to the Act of Indemnity. Fortunately Sir John died before any decision was made and, therefore, was spared the horrors suffered by many of the regicides.

Towards the end of 1660 Barrington and Sir Henry Cholmley began a campaign to secure the Beningbrough estate from forfeiture. On the 9th November Cholmley presented his nephew’s petition to the Commons stressing Bourchier’s activity in ‘Sir George Booth’s Affair’.¹⁹ The matter was then referred to the Committee on the Bill of Attainder but in December, no doubt uncertain of the temper of Parliament as pressure for vengeance against the regicides grew, Sir Henry approached the Crown through the Lord Treasurer. He claimed to have persuaded his nephew to assist in the Restoration, having previously received an assurance from Charles that anyone he engaged to further the King’s cause would be given pardon and security. Then, apparently looking to his own interest, he asked for some personal recompense out of the Bourchier estate:

‘... Begs, in consideration of the loss of Clifford’s Tower, and £200 laid out on the New Park near York, such a fine as His Majesty thinks fit out of Bourchier’s estate and the restoration of the remainder thereof to Bourchier’,²⁰

The Lord Treasurer’s letter to the King dated 2 February 1661 on this matter further

14. R. C. Latham and W. Matthews *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* Vol. 1, p. 53.

15. *C.S.P. Dom.* 1659 - 1660 p. 356.

16. Letter R. Turner to Sir George 31/3/1660 Notts. Record Office DDSR 221/96/23 - states the office was worth a £1000 annum; B. D. Henning *op. cit.* p. 693; *Commons Journal* 23rd and 24th Feb. 1660.

17. B. D. Henning *op. cit.* Vol. 1. pp. 488 and 470 - Bourchier had previously been unsuccessful in the election for the Convention parliament at Aldborough, though ‘he had laid his business for the purpose’.

18. *Commons Journals* 9th and 18th June 1660.

19. *The Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England* Vol. xxiii p. 8.

20. *C.S.P. Dom.* 1660 - 1661 p. 446; T. P. Cooper *The History of York Castle* (1911 London, Elliot Stock) pp. 178/9 - The petitioner had purchased Clifford’s Tower with the intention of pulling it down but the Crown had decided that it should continue as a garrison.

illuminates the means by which a possible adverse decision from Parliament was circumvented and a fine on the estate of £1000 was allowed to benefit the family: 'Sir Henry Cholmley who I understand to have bin very active and adventurous in the last successful attempts for your Majesties restitution ... produces your Majesties commission to authorise him to engage in your Majesties service. And he alleadgeth he used that only in the case of his nephew Bourchier whose father was dead and engaged in that sentencing his late gracious majesty: and though I know not whether your Majesties intention extended to men of that deepe dye yet the father being dead, the sonne a loyal and active person, and one whose estate at present without an Act of Parliament cannot be forfeited, and in the last parliament when an act of attainder was framing that might have reached him Sir Henry Cholmley was seeking the safety of the estate by a proviso.' But was directed to decline that way and instead to trust to the King's grace. Will not withstand any grace that the King may intend petitioner in view of Sir Henry Cholmley's desire to charge his nephew's estate with £1000 and free the King of all his pretences'.²¹

This approach was followed by a personal petition to Charles from Barrington Bourchier in March 1661 which was immediately successful. Having surrendered his estate, he received back by grant the manor of Beningbrough, the manor and rectory of Newton-on-Ouse and 'all other his father's land conveyed by him to the King'.²² Such clemency and restoration was by no means uncommon, although the general situation remained highly dangerous for Puritans for some time.

There was a considerable shift of power by 1661 and Barrington was not re-elected to the Cavalier Parliament which was to last for the next sixteen years. Nor, apparently, did he ever receive a knighthood, although his name appeared in 1660 on a proposed list of 'Knights of the Royal Oak'.²³ A further significant omission is indicated by the Quarter Session Records for the North Riding since Barrington Bourchier is not listed as a Justice after 1660; while the commission he held as a militia colonel of foot in 1660 also seems not to have been renewed.²⁴ Given that the final political and religious settlements of the Restoration were designed to exclude Puritans from office-holding this is not surprising.²⁵ However, in the immediate aftermath of civil war and revolution the Bourchiers of Beningbrough suffered a relatively light financial penalty. Thus, despite the £1000 awarded to Sir Henry Cholmley out of the estate, there seems to have been continuing affluence. The Hearth Tax Returns point to a large extension of Beningbrough Grange between 1662 and 1665 when Barrington Bourchier's assessment changed from six to eleven hearths.²⁶

The scant information that we have on the level of Barrington Bourchier's wealth comes from the proposed list of Knights of the Royal Oak where his annual income is shown as £1000,²⁷ a figure which according to J. T. Cliffe in *The Yorkshire Gentry* would place him just within the income bracket of the upper gentry.²⁸ However this evidence is problematic since it is not precisely dated, nor can we be sure which estates were included. No doubt uncertain of the fate of his patrimony of the estates at Beningbrough and Kirby Underdale, Barrington Bourchier took steps to acquire property in his own right, buying the manor of

21. *Cal. of Treasury Papers* Vol. 1 p. 196.

22. *C.S.P. Dom. 1660 - 1661*, p. 557.

23. Burke, *History of the Commoners* Vol. 1 pp. 688 - 694.

24. Letter Turner to Saville 31:3:1660 Notts. Record Office DDSR 221/96/23.

25. Cf. The 'Clarendon Code' Acts. Ref. C. Hill *op. cit.* Part 3; J. Thirsk *The Restoration* (1976 London: Longman).

26. P.R.O. E.179 215/451 and 216/458 Newton cum Beningbrough.

27. Burke *op. cit.*, p. 693.

28. *Op. cit.* p. 29.

Barforth in the short time between the return of Charles II and the death of Sir John.²⁹ From the evidence of this purchase, of the subsequent enlargement of Beningbrough Grange noted above, and the acquisition of the manors of Overton (1664) and Shipton (1668),³⁰ Barrington Bourchier was a wealthy man. By 1670 his income may have been considerably in excess of £1000 per year. The indications are that the Bourchier family had certainly recovered from their reported strained financial circumstances of the period before the Civil War. The foundation of those difficulties seems to have occurred when the estates came under the jurisdiction of the Court of Wards in the early seventeenth century, being further exacerbated by the heavy fines on Sir John and his imprisonment for a defiant objection to the Crown's encroachment on Beningbrough land. By mid century, possibly through the benefits of office holding during the Interregnum, the tide of their fortunes had apparently turned, and remained buoyant despite the dangers of 1660.³¹

As far as can be ascertained Barrington Bourchier lived in retirement on his estates after the Restoration. Since he was a Puritan it is reasonable to assume that he was a careful estate manager³² and, therefore, that his son's inheritance was very substantial. In their personal lives little more is known about Barrington and Frances Bourchier except that they lived long enough to see their son married and their first grand-children born, being subsequently buried at Newton on Ouse. The Parish Register records that Mrs. Frances Bourchier, wife of Barrington Bourchier (Senior) died 28th April 1676 while the Archbishop's transcripts for Newton reveal that Barrington Bourchier Esquire was buried in February 1680.³³

SIR BARRINGTON BOURCHIER (d. 1695)

- DEPUTY OF THE NORTH RIDING

Born when national, family and personal drama were often inseparable for the English gentry, the second Barrington Bourchier appears to have followed the post-Commonwealth country life-style of his father. He apparently tended his estates and eventually met his family's restored country responsibilities: a typical squire of Restoration England.

Barrington matriculated from Merton College in 1667 aged sixteen.³⁴ The choice of Oxford University, a traditionally royalist stronghold, seems to have been an exception to the family connection with Cambridge,³⁵ where Puritan influences had been strong earlier in the century.³⁶ At the early age of twenty years Barrington married Judith Milbank, daughter of Mark Milbank, Esquire, who was High Sheriff of Northumberland in 1660 and a wealthy merchant who loaned large sums of money to Charles II at Breda.³⁷ Hence there was a strengthening of family ties with those who had supported the Restoration, and

- 29. P.R.O. Recov. R. Trinity 12 Chas. II (CP 43/310 Rot. 310) (note that Trinity Term in 1660 was very short - 24 June - 8 July); Kirby Underdale was half a manor, the other half was known as Hanging Grimston. Purchased in 1575 by Sir Ralph Bourchier, the manor was divided in 1601 between his two sons, William and John - *Yorkshire Fines* 11 Y.A.S. Record Series p. 68; W. R. Shepherd *op. cit.* p. 63.
- 30. Purchased from kinsman John Scudamore. Feet of Fines Recov. R. Michaelmas 16 Chas II and Trinity 20 Chas II (*V.C.H. North Riding* II, p. 168).
- 31. Wm. Bourchier was declared insane when Sir John was under age. (a) P.R.O. Court of Wards Sheriffs Book, Wards 9/dc1XXVII/f.6 - unpaid debts to Ct. of Wards, source: J. T. Cliffe *op. cit.* p. 350; (b) P.R.O. S.P. Dom. Chas. I.S.P. 16/CCXI/31 - source: *ibid*. It is noted that the Commons granted Sir John £6000 out of Strafford's estate but it is not known if he ever received this, (*C.J.* 31/7/1651).
- 32. J. T. Cliffe *op. cit.* Chap. 2 and 3.
- 33. Microfilm PRT 918426 Roll 88 Borthwick Inst.
- 34. J. Foster - *Alumni Oxonienses* (Reprint of 1968) p. 155.
- 35. J. A. Venn *op. cit.* (Sir John (d. 1660) matric. 1608 Christ's College - the last family entry was John Bourchier (d. 1759) M.A. in 1728.
- 36. J. W. Cliffe *op. cit.* Chap. IV.
- 37. *Paver's Marriage Licences* Vol. II (Y.A.S.R.S.); Burke *History of the Commoners*, p. 398.



Plate 2. ? Frances, wife of Barrington Bourchier Esq. and daughter of Sir William Strickland of Boynton, 1624-76. Painted c.1665. In Lady Chesterfield's Room, Beningbrough Hall. Photo: William Hadley.

a further influential connection within the Northern Counties.

The knighthood which the second Barrington Bourchier received from Charles II at Newmarket in October 1676³⁸ probably signalled the restoration of some court and county favour to the Bourchiers, for the following year Sir Barrington also took office for the first time as a justice.³⁹ Yet suspicion of him evidently remained for in 1683 his attempt to secure the office of a deputy lieutenant of the North Riding through the influence of Thomas Bellasis, Viscount Fauconbert, was not immediately successful. Papers from Newburgh Priory contain a letter dated 12th July 1683 from Fauconberg to a kinsman which is calendared as follows:

38. W. A. Shaw *Knights of England* (1906) p. 241; Foster *op. cit.*
39. J. C. Atkinson (ed.) *Quarter Session Records Vol. VII* North Riding Record Society 1884. B. D. Henning *op. cit.* confuses father and son after 1660.

'You will receive a letter from Secretary Jenkins which will enable you to do the King a considerable service. Pray assure Sir B. Bourchier of my esteem. If I had a recommendatory letter from yourself, or any other person of quality known at Court, I would willingly try to obtain a deputation for him, but otherwise I cannot, 'by reason of the objection you know of'. I heartily wish you a good journey'.⁴⁰

The note of caution no doubt arose out of memories of past misdeeds. However, perhaps by coincidence, five days after Fauconberg's letter evidence was given at York Castle that Sir Barrington Bourchier was one of those in the County who had given shelter to Sir John Cockroom, a relative of Sir William Strickland, who was trying to escape to Holland.⁴¹ This occurred as many leading Whigs were being arrested following the Rye House plot to seize Charles II. Sir Barrington's involvement in this local incident probably arose from friendship but it was, nevertheless, a risky business.

It is in the history of the constitutional crisis surrounding the Roman Catholic James II that Sir Barrington Bourchier briefly emerges from rural obscurity and family privacy. The record of events in Yorkshire in 1688, the year of 'glorious revolution', shows that by that date he had achieved his deputation and was also an officer in Viscount Fauconberg's troop of horse.⁴² Hence Sir Barrington was present in January 1688 when, in an attempt by the King to 'pack' Parliament, the gentry were examined on their support for James II's proposal to repeal the Penal Laws and Test Act. There was a concerted response by the North Riding officials to the 'Test Questions', the cautious but firm answers attributed to Sir Barrington being typical of those reported. Asked if he would be in favour of the next elections, he replied:

'If I shall be chosen a member of Parliament, I thinke myselfe obliged to give my vote according to the reason of the debate of the House of Commons'.

To the question whether he would support a parliamentary candidate known to be favourable to the repeal, his response was:

'If I shall concerne myself in the election of any to serve as a member of Parliament, I thinke myselfe to give my vote for such as shall, to the best of my judgement serve the King and the Kingdome honestly and faithfully.'

Thirdly, asked whether in support of the policy of Toleration he was prepared to show religious toleration himself, he answered:

'It was always my principle to live peaceably and friendly with all men as becomes a good Christian and a Loyall subject'.

Following the screening, Barrington Bourchier was one of those replaced as a justice. At this stage he retained his appointment as a deputy but lost this office, and his militia commission, as changes in local government personnel continued throughout the year.⁴³ Thereafter, Sir Barrington's part in the events in Yorkshire in 1688 are unclear. He was committed to supplying two horses and their riders, namely Antonie Ben and Philip Alis, to a North Riding troop captained by Sir Thomas Gower and active in the coup in York on 24th November. The detailed rolls for the muster of the militia held on 1st December, as their seizure of the County continued, indicate that Sir Barrington Bourchier was himself present with many of the Yorkshire gentry.⁴⁴ The King's last-minute restoration of offices

40. *Historical Manuscripts Commission (H.M.C.) Report Vol. II Cd. 932 (1903) p. 170.*

41. J. Raine ed. *Depositions from York Castle* Surtees Society Vol. XL 1861 pp. 258/9.

42. Sir Geo. Duckett - 'King James the Second's Proposed Repeal of the Penal Laws and Test Act' in *Y.A.J.* V (1878-9), p. 473.

43. *Ibid.* pp. 463-9 Replies of those N.R. Deputies and Justices who were appointed after the 'closeting'; Sir John Reresby *Memoirs* ed. A. Browning (1936) p. 520; J. R. Jones *The Revolution of 1688 in England* (1972) for a detailed examination of the purges and the campaign to pack Parliament.

44. Brit. Mus. Egerton MSS 3344; for the revolution of 1688 in Yorkshire - Reresby *op. cit.* pp. 520-532; A. J. Browning *Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby, Duke of Leeds* (1951) Chp. XVII; M. Evans 'Yorkshire and the Revolution of 1688' in *Y.A.J.* Vol. 29 (1929).

to his county officials in November had come too late and were too little trusted to avert their rebellion.

The great public drama of 1688 was surely played out against a lively family background for Sir Barrington since he had already married twice and had four children. Yet his personal life, as that of nearly all families in the seventeenth century, was marred by much sadness. Judith Milbank, his first wife, was barely twenty-three years old when she died in 1675,⁴⁵ leaving two young children - three year old Barrington and Mark, only a year old. Five years later Barrington Bouchier, knight, had married Margaret Hardwick, daughter of Thomas Hardwick of Potter Newton.⁴⁶ Margaret bore five children but only John and Ralph, born in 1684 and 1689 respectively, were to survive to adult years.⁴⁷ When Margaret Hardwick died in May 1689⁴⁸ following the birth of Ralph, there was again a young family at Beningbrough Grange left without a mother for, as well as the new baby, John was only four years old and his sister Margaret aged five. Their half-brothers Barrington (seventeen years) and Mark (fifteen years) entered Trinity College together the following month.⁴⁹ In 1692 Sir Barrington Bouchier, aged forty, married for the third time,⁵⁰ his wife Ursula Dalton, aged twenty-three, being sister of Sir Marmaduke Dalton of Hawkswell and related by marriage to Lord Fauconberg's family.⁵¹ Sir Barrington and Ursula had a son, William, a year later.⁵² When Sir Barrington Bouchier died in 1695,⁵³ the continuance of the family line must have seemed very secure for he was survived by five sons - the eldest, Barrington, was twenty-three, the youngest just two years old.

The extent and value of the Bouchier estates on the death of Sir Barrington, at the age of forty-four years, were greater than they had been at the Restoration, although we have no figures for annual income from these. The amount of the probate bonds provide some indication of the extent of his wealth, for in the seventeenth century the estimated value of the personal estate was usually equal to the bond set. In 1695, and again in 1700, some of these were set at £4,000, a very high figure. While this is no guide to the value of real estate, the impression here is of continuing economic buoyancy. Wealth probably came from two sources. On the one hand careful estate management and land improvements were bringing higher incomes to provident land-owners throughout the seventeenth century. Secondly, in a period when the size of the marriage portions of the daughters of the gentry had increased,⁵⁴ Sir Barrington received the dowries of three brides. The wills of Mark Milbank (d. 1676) and his son and heir, the first baronet (d. 1680), reveal the great wealth of this family. This evidence suggests that Judith Milbank would have brought to her marriage a very handsome dowry.⁵⁵ The portion of Margaret Hardwick, Sir Barrington's second wife, was that of a co-heiress, her father having made a settlement in her favour

45. Newton P. R. - Judith Bouchier wife of Barrington Bouchier, Jnr. Esq. d. 2:7:1675.
46. *Paver's Marriage Licences* Vol. III (Y.A.S.R.S.), '1680 Doms. Barrington Bouchier, Knt, 28, Beningbrough and Margaret Hardwick, Spinster, 20, Potter Newton'.
47. Newton P. R. 1682 Thomas; 1683 Margaret; 1684 John; 1687 William; 1689 Ralph.
48. Archbishops Transcripts for Newton-on-Ouse, 'May 7th 1689 - Margaret ye wife of Sir Barrington Bouchier buried' Microfilm PRT 918426 Roll 88 Borthwick Institute.
49. J. A. Venn, *op. cit.* p. 187.
50. *Paver's Marriage Licences* Vol. III (Y.A.S.), '1692 Sir Barrington Bouchier, Knt, 40, Beningbrough and Ursula Dalton, Spinster, 23, York - at Bishophill Senior'. (m. 19:4:1692).
51. J. W. Clay ed. *Dugdale Visitation with Additions* p. 330 Cf. Burke.
52. Arch. Trans. for Newton-on-Ouse. Baptism '1693 Oct. 15th, William son Sir Barrington Bouchier of Beningbrough Grainge'.
53. Arch. Trans. Newton-on-Ouse, '1695 Oct. 29th Barrington Bouchier, Senior, of Beningbrough, Knt. Buried'.
54. J. W. Cliffe *op. cit.*
55. North Yorks. County Records Office ZBW1 MIC 1118 - e.g. Elizabeth Milbank, grand-daughter of Mark Milbank, received sums of money totalling £5,000; there was also £1,500 for Judith's second son Mark and £200 for her eldest son Barrington.

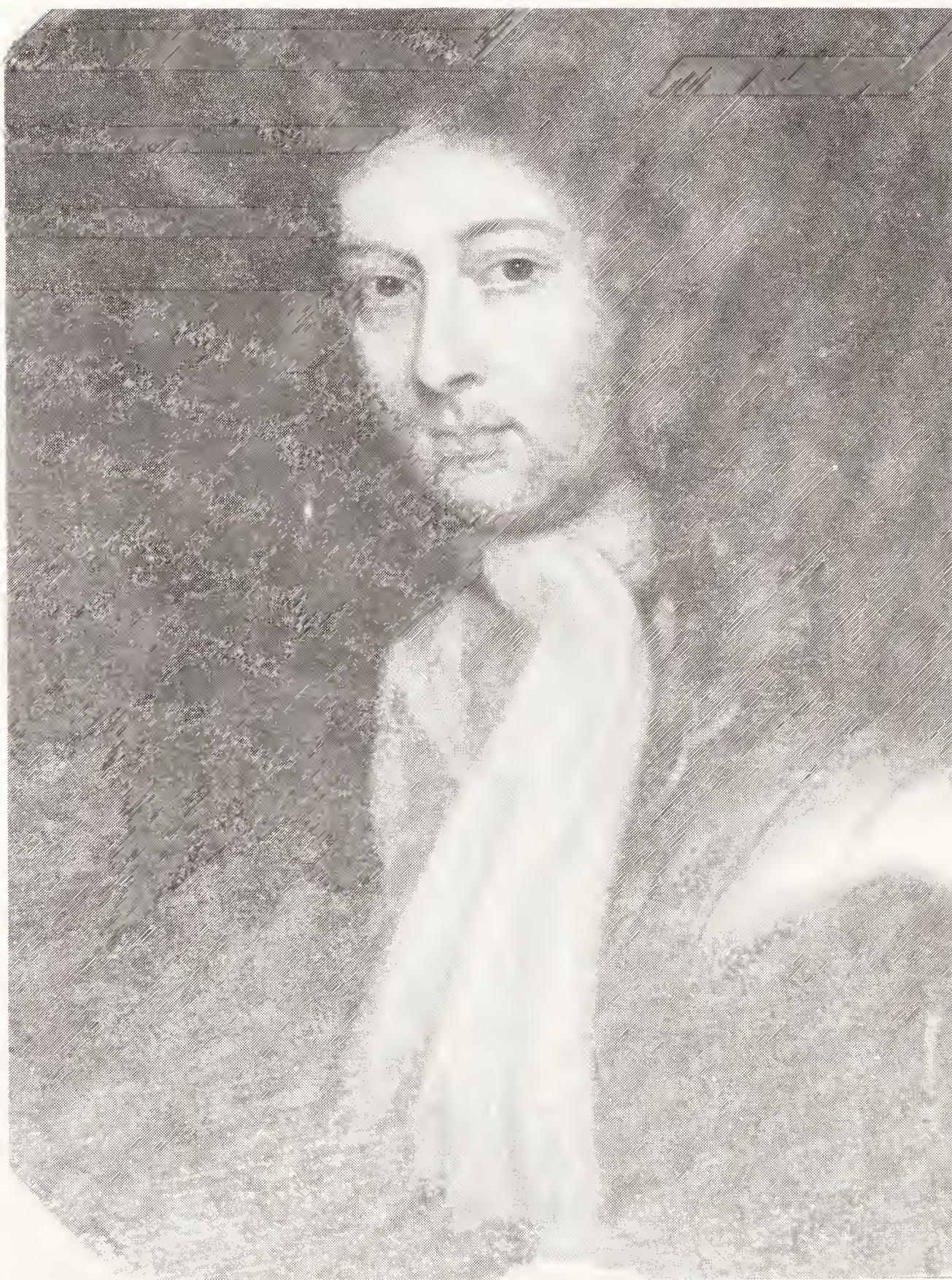


Plate 3.? Sir Barrington Bourchier senior, 1651-95. Painted c.1690. In a private room at Beningbrough Hall.
Photo: William Hadley.

before the date of his last will.⁵⁶

The benefits accruing from provident marriage were often offset, of course, by the provision which was made for wives and children in the event of death. Cliffe makes the point that Puritans were noted for making financial arrangements for their families even though such jointures strained estate income. Sir Barrington Bourchier left no daughters in need of a dowry but three of his sons had still to be raised and educated. His will is concerned chiefly with provision for his third wife, new son William and the younger sons of his earlier marriages, that is Mark and Ralph. The principal settlements had already been made and it seems reasonable to assume that John, the eldest son of Margaret Hardwick, as well as Barrington, the first-born son of Judith Milbank, had benefited from

56. Probate Docs. Thos. Hardwick Ainsty D. Aug. 1685, Borthwick Institute.

these, since he alone is not named as a beneficiary in the will of 1693. Probate was granted to Dame Ursula Bourchier, appointed by her husband as sole executor, since the personal estate and the manor of Shipton were left to her son William.⁵⁷

Much of the style and quality of the Bourchier family life at Beningbrough Grange at the end of the seventeenth century is revealed in the 1695 inventory of Sir Barrington Bourchier's personal estate, i.e. moncy, livestock, goods and chattels to the value of £1,400. (Appendix). The most striking feature of the document is the initial detailed account of ready money held in numerous bags and purses which Sir Barrington kept by him. However, the total sum seems not to be unusual for the gentry of the period. Some of the monies may have come from rents recently paid, or have had some connection with the impending new issue of coins and the precursory hoarding of gold which occurred in 1695, causing a trade crisis. There was probably no income directly from farming at Beningbrough since this seems to have been directed towards meeting home needs. Hence there were small herds of cattle, pigs and a few sheep, a dairy, a great garnish chamber and barn, both apparently well stocked although the ploughing teams and other farming implements were of little value. There seems to have been a special interest in horses. Sir Barrington had twelve worth £86. Two of these were coach horses, the rest presumably were saddle horses kept for military duties as well as personal transport. In 1647 Lord Ferdinando Fairfax, in comparative financial circumstances, left eleven horses, four saddle and seven cart horses, valued at £75 in an Estate of £1,000; in 1675 Sir Thomas Wentworth's inventory showed a combined total value of £203 for horses, sheep and swine although his estate of £6,600 included a six-horse coach.⁵⁸

The mansion, extended twenty years earlier, is revealed in the inventory as having at least eighteen rooms. Nine of these were probably downstairs, seven chambers and two closets upstairs. Several rooms were identified by the name of the person who used them but, apart from those of the family, only two are now identifiable: John Robinson, referred to in later documents as Sir Barrington's servant, and the Scudamores, possibly the cousins who once owned the manors of Overton and Shipton. The public rooms were being used in contemporary high fashion with dining room and drawing room having replaced much of the function and use of the Great Hall. The latter was virtually empty in December 1695.

On the evidence of P.D.C. Brears in *Yorkshire Inventories 1542-1689* the furnishings were of the highest quality. Especially was this so in 'ye best lodging', usually a suite of rooms, where the value of the blue damask bed, quilts and seven armed chairs is given as £40, a very high sum. Here also was a dog-grate, shovel and tongs for coals brought by sea and river, a feature of only two other rooms - the dining room and the 'Green Roame'. There were the latest Dutch chairs, cane chairs and a 'walnut tree table' in the drawing room. However, there is no fashionable white plate shown, despite the late provision for porcelain in the closets and dressing rooms of the new Hall in 1716. It is also disappointing that the silver plate which is of high contemporary value at £181, is not itemised.

The pictures in the Bourchier family home were valued at £5 in 1695. These must have included four of the seventeenth-century Bourchier portraits which remain in the wainscot at the present Hall. It has not yet been possible to firmly identify these, although their survival at Beningbrough suggests that they are key portraits (Plates 1-3). Of more contemporary value than the paintings was Sir Barrington's collection of books. For in a period when few inventories listed any books at all, the item 'In Bookes ... £15' represents a library of considerable size - a feature which is a reminder of the high-mindedness of the family's puritan roots.

57. Probate Docs. Barrington B. 19 Feb. 1695/6 W. The Prerogative Court of York, Borthwick Institute. Dame Ursula and Mark both received annuities; Ralph, lump sums totalling £500. The initial bond was £4,000; the second £1,000, a sum nearer the actual value of the inventory.

58. P.D.C. Brears ed. *Yorkshire Inventories 1542-1689* Y.A.S.R.S CXXXIV (1972).

The same influence would probably mean that there would be no debts of great significance to be settled by the executor of this will. These were, however, to be charged to the Kirby Underdale estate on Sir Barrington's instructions. Hence the only deduction from the value of the personal estate was for the funeral costs and expenses of £231, a sum which would be modestly in keeping with Sir Barrington Bourchier's wealth and status in the County. Sir Peter Wentworth's funeral expenses in 1675 came to an incredible £1127 while a yeoman's could be as little as 10s.⁵⁹

Sir Barrington, deputy lieutenant and justice of the North Riding,⁶⁰ was buried on 29th October 1695 at Newton-on-Ouse, where Judith Milbank and Margaret Hardwick as well as his parents had also been buried.

SONS AND WARDS - 1695 to 1716

The death of Sir Barrington brought a period of change and transition to the Bourchiers of Beningbrough Grange. The structure of his family, taken together with provisions of his will, suggests that some initial disruption was inevitable.⁶¹ Dame Ursula, owning the furnishings but not the house, probably left Beningbrough with William. Since the manor of Shipton had passed to her young son, it is possible that they took up residence there. The eldest son, Barrington, though at Beningbrough in January 1698 planning to put in some 'delicate cutts and ridings' in the woods there, was 'of London' by the end of 1699.⁶² His brother Mark was living in York in the parish of Michael le Belfrey.⁶³ It is not clear where John and Ralph were at this stage. Their guardianship was shared by Dame Ursula, by Elizabeth Hardwick, who married John Clavering at York Minster in April 1696,⁶⁴ and by a kinsman, William Bethel of Swindon. Later developments indicate that John had a close relationship with his aunt Elizabeth. Ralph, however, may have been brought up with William, since they both went to Westminster School before entering Trinity College Cambridge where Ralph was mistakenly registered as brother, not half-brother, of William.⁶⁵

The heir to the Bourchier estate, Barrington, was knighted on 23rd April 1697 at Kensington.⁶⁶ He married Mary Compton, daughter of Sir Francis Compton, a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards and fifth son of Spencer Compton, second Earl of Northampton, an ardent royalist who was killed at Hopton Heath in battle against the Parliamentarians in 1643. Thus Mary was the niece of Henry Compton, Bishop of London 1675-1713, who, having been the earlier religious tutor of the Princesses Mary and Anne, also officiated at the marriage of Prince William of Orange and

59. *Ibid.*

60. B. D. Henning *op. cit.* p. 693.

61. The Grange may have been let almost immediately after the death of Bourchier to a John Wilson. This is a possible explanation for the interesting problem of a second inventory taken at 'Beningbrough Grainge' on 4th Dec. 1695 in the name of John Wilson deceased. However the sizes of the two houses represented in the probate documents seem incompatible. An alternative explanation could be that the Wilson inventory, that of a substantial farmer with a personal estate of £254, was taken at a smaller house close to the mansion. There is a possible third explanation. The Newton-on-Ouse local history group in *Three Yorkshire Villages* have identified the Wilson inventory with the site of the present Beningbrough Grange north of Beningbrough Lane, a position favoured by Wm. Page *op. cit.* as the original site of St. Leonard's grange. It seems unlikely, however, that in this period there would be two separate locations having the same name. See also Footnote No. 1 above (Cf. Probate Docs. John Wilson, Beningbrough Grange, Newton Manorial Court Oct. 1696. Borthwick Institute).

62. Letter of Barrington Bourchier to unknown recipient Brit. Mus. Stowe mss 747 f. 87; Newton-on-Ouse P. R. 1 Jan. 1700.

63. Michael le Belfrey P.R. Dec. 1699.

64. 23:4:1696 *Paver's Marriage Licences* Vol. III (Y.A.S.R.S. 1911). John Clavering was of Chopwell, Durham.

65. Venn *op. cit.*

66. W. A. Shaw *op. cit.* Cf. Venn *op. cit.*

Mary in 1677 and later at their coronation.⁶⁷ This alliance with an important family was one which may have resulted from Sir Barrington's own connection with Sir Hugh Cholmley (4th Bart.) whose wife was Anne Compton, sister of Sir Frances.⁶⁸ The marriage also suggests that the young Barrington had spent some time in court possibly with the patronage of the Cholmleys or that of Thomas Bellasis, created Earl Fauconberg in the coronation honours of William and Mary in 1689.⁶⁹

All must have seemed very promising for the second Sir Barrington and his wife when their son, another William, was born in June 1698. Within eighteen months, however, disaster struck the Bourchier family. William lived barely a year.⁷⁰ Then six months later in December 1699 Mark Bourchier, aged twenty-five years and second son of Judith Milbank, died without issue.⁷¹ Within only a few days of Mark's burial at Newton-on-Ouse, Mary Compton died in childbirth. The baby also did not survive and both were buried together on the 3rd January 1700.⁷² Then towards the end of that fateful year Sir Barrington became ill and died in November at Tadcaster.⁷³ It was a tragic sequence of events for this young couple and one which once again interrupted family recovery and aspirations.

At only fifteen years of age John Bourchier, eldest son of Sir Barrington Bourchier (Senior) and Margaret Hardwick, inherited the family estates, with the exception of the manor of Shipton.⁷⁴ In a will that is charming in its glimpse of personal relationships and interests, the sick Barrington named his half-brother as his heir and the sole executor of his estate. There were four horses left as gifts; one 'called the Chestnutt gelding', was given to John; 'Jeoffrey's Mare' went to Ralph, then aged eleven years; and Sir William Strickland, 'for his friendship shown to me', received two geldings, one a grey known as Layton, the other a bay called Stark. 'A Scrutore with looking glass Table and Stands' from the 'best Roome at Beningbrough' was bequeathed to Lady Strickland.⁷⁵ The young Sir Barrington also left sums of money, though none more than £20, which were intended as tokens of affection and friendship to his half-brother William, a Mr. Gaile and Mr. Henry Wickham. John Robinson, Sir Barrington's servant, received £60, an indication of his superior status as well as worth: the rest of the staff were to have £20 divided between them. For the 'poor of Beningbrough and Towns adjacent' there was a bequest of £10 which, interestingly, remained in 1859 as part of a local trust invested in 'three per cent consols'.⁷⁶

In recognition of the fact that John was legally a minor Sir Barrington (Junior) desired that Sir William Strickland and Thomas Worsley, Esquire, should advise and assist John in his duties as executor. However, the probate documents, covering procedures in three courts, include an order in the names of the Archbishop of York and Henry Compton, Bishop of London, dated 20th December 1700. This gave John's aunt control of his affairs, 'John Bourchier having spontaneously and voluntarily chosen Elizabeth, wife of John Clavering, gent, for tutor and guardian'. At a special meeting of four Commissioners in the

- 67. W. A. Shaw *op. cit.* C. Dalton *English Army Lists and Commission Registers 1661-1714* passim; D.N.B.; Cokayne *The Complete Peerage* p. 391.
- 68. G. Cokayne *The Complete Baronetage*.
- 69. 3rd April 1689 D.N.B. - Corrections and Additions p. 22.
- 70. Born 24 June, baptized 11 July 1698 - Newton P. R. Buried 1 June 1699 - Arch. Trans.
- 71. Arch. Trans. - Buried 28 Dec. 1699 at Newton; Cf. Michael le Belfrey P.R.
- 72. Arch. Trans. - died 1 Jan. 1700. Buried at Newton.
- 73. Arch. Trans. 9 Nov. 1700. Buried at Newton.
- 74. Prob. Docs. Sir Barrington Bourchier 14 Feb. 1700/01 Bulmer Borthwick Instit. These include a bond for £2,000 on John Robinson, Sir Barrington's servant, and court official Watkinson Sothebie to produce the original will in the Exchequer Court. Feb. 1700.
- 75. Since Dame Ursula Bourchier may have emptied the house of furniture after her husband died, it is impossible to identify this writing desk with any item in the inventory of 1695.
- 76. W. H. Whellan *Yorkshire and the North Riding* p. 624.

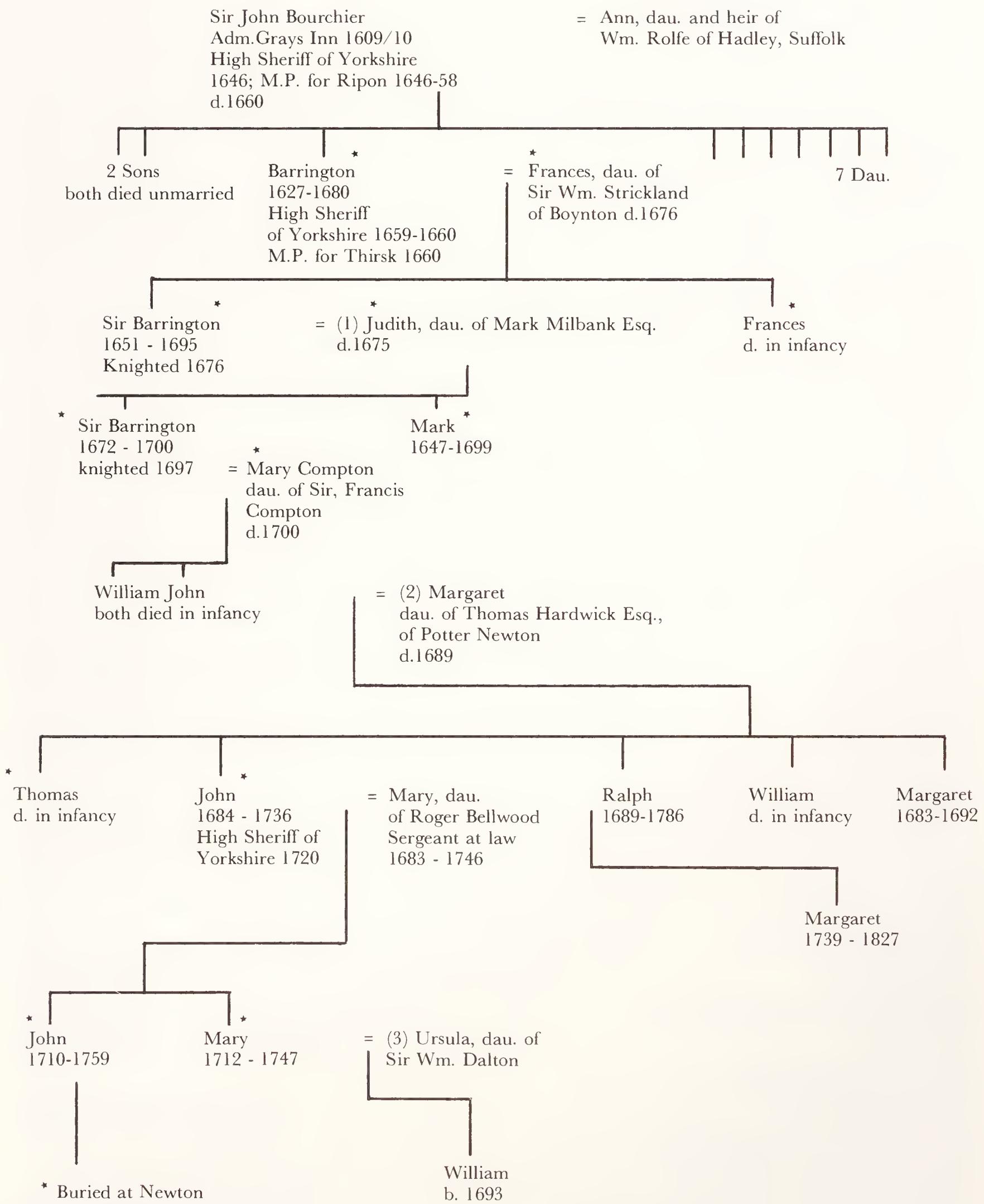
Prerogative Court at York on 9th January following, Elizabeth Clavering undertook to fulfil her duties as guardian, and as Executor of Sir Barrington Bourchier's Estate, on a bond of £4,000. Clearly Sir Barrington's intention to have his brother as sole executor of his Estate was not possible during John's minority. Evidently anticipating some difficulty, Sir Barrington tried to get round this without changing his original decision. Some confusion would then arise as Sir Barrington's wishes were in conflict with the arrangements his father made for the shared guardianship of John and Ralph. In the past these may have given rise to some tension; certainly they were inappropriate to the changed circumstances. Elizabeth Hardwick's legal initiative ended the joint wardship of John and gave her sole control of his affairs until he came of age. Bishop Compton's connection with the proceedings may have been no more than administrative, indicating that Sir Barrington (Junior) had property in London. Given his relationship to the deceased, however, Elizabeth Clavering probably had Compton's personal support for her application.

A new era in the history of the Bourchier family at Beningbrough began with the young John's inheritance of the ancestral home and estates at the turn of the century. John married Mary Bellwood at Acomb Parish Church on 14th September 1708 - 'the long expected match' of 'a dapper couple' according to Anne Clavering. She lightly told her cousin Sir James that she had 'sent her playmate the willow ribbon upon that account'.⁷⁷ When his son John was born in 1709 John Bourchier was again at Beningbrough Grange. It is believed that it was at the direction of John and Mary that a new Hall was built at Beningbrough and the old manor house pulled down. The baroque mansion, completed it is thought in 1716, was to be a setting for Georgian brilliance and elegance. Inspiration, however, came from the past - from the century in which political and scientific revolution, social upheaval and religious struggle had finally moved towards some resolution. It was celebration too of family pride in ancient lineage and the full restoration of status in the county.

This attempt to recover something of the past of the Bourchiers of Beningbrough has also briefly illuminated the crucial nature of the network of related English gentry in times of personal or public crisis. It is a story too of family survival aided, one feels, by considerable shrewdness and by circumstances of much sadness as well as opportunity. It was these factors, combined with the important influence of family connections and marriage alliances, which enabled the descendants of Sir John Bourchier to overcome a legacy of hostility and suspicion caused by revolution and the death of a king.

77. Acomb. P. R.; E. H. Dickenson (ed.) *The Correspondence of Sir James Clavering* Surtees Society Vol. CLXXIII 1967 p. 135 Letter from Anne Clavering, step-daughter of Elizabeth, to Sir James 23:9:1708. Her sister Mary had married William, Earl Cowper, who by 1708 was Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain.

*SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY PEDIGREE
BOURCHIER OF BENINGBROUGH*



APPENDIX

A true Inventory off all ye Goods and
Chattells of Sr. Barrington Bourchier
Knt. late of Beningbrough in ye County
of York deceased apprized by Robert
Rhodes, Oswald Buckle, Tho. Hewan,
Richard Sharpe ye fourth Day of
December 1695

In the Drawers in Sr. Barrington's Chamber	£ : s : d
1 Bag in which there was in silver £29 8s 6d & allso 9 Guineas at 22s a piece	39 : 06 : 06
1 Bag in which there was in Silver £65 ... 10 Guineas at 22s a piece	76 : 00 : 00
Money found in his Pocket	01 : 04 : 03
In gold 1 Jacobus 1£ 5s 6d & 2 Carol, 2£ 7s 5 Guineas 3£ 10s and 2 pistolls 1£ 15s in all	78 10 : 17 : 06
1 Leather Bagg in Bad Money	03 : 15 : 00
In one Bag	32 : 07 : 06
In another Bag	11 : 08 : 06
In another Bag	51 : 00 : 00
In a Net Purse	11 : 10 : 00
In another Net Purse	03 : 04 : 06
In another Net Purse	02 : 14 : 00
In a little Haire Purse	01 : 17 : 06
In another Bag	100 : 00 : 00
In another Bag	30 : 00 : 00
In another Bag	100 : 00 : 00
In another Bag	75 : 00 : 00
In another Bag 55½ Guineas at 22s. a piece	64 : 07 : 00
1 Jacobus 1£ 5s 6d, 1½ Carol 11s 9d	01 : 17 : 03
? new Crowne piece	00 : 05 : 00
In a little Box one pearl	
Necklace and allso	
1 Diamond Ring	05 : 00 : 00
In a green Purse 29½ Guineas and 1 Pistoll	32 : 09 : 00 00 : 17 : 06
In a Little speckled Purse 12 Carol 14£ 2s, 2 Jacobus 2£ 11s & 2 Duch pieces 1£	17 : 13 : 00
In ye Green Roame, 1 Bed Serv'd with green lined with Green Silk, 8 Chairs covered with ye same, 1 ffeather Bed Bolster and Pillow & 4 Blanketts	18 : 00 : 00

78. Jacobus and carolus: gold 20s pieces of James II and Charles II; pistole: European gold coin worth c. 18s.

	£ : s : d
5 pieces of Tapestry Hangings	08 : 00 : 00
One Table Stands and Glass	01 : 00 : 00
2 Window Curtains, FFire Shovell and Tongs	00 : 05 : 00
In Mr. Bourchier's Roome	
One Bed Fedd with white Curtains serv'd with Red, 1 ffeather Bed - Bolster and pillows, An old quilt 3 Blanketts, 1 green Rug, 2 Chairs A table and Glass	06 : 10 : 00
One cloath Bed with ffeather Bed with Bolster & pillows, 2 blankets 1 Linnen Quilt, 1 Easy Chair 2 other Chaires and 5 Stools	07 : 00 : 00
One Black Glass, Table and Stands	00 : 13 : 04
In ye Drawing Roome 2 Dutch Chaires	02 : 00 : 00
4 Cain Chaires & Walnut tree table	01 : 04 : 00
One Looking Glass	02 : 00 : 00
In ye Dineing Roome 22 Setwork Chairs & 2 old Setwork Squabs	04 : 00 : 00
One pendulum Clock	07 : 10 : 00
Several Pictures	05 : 00 : 00
2 ovall tables and a Side Board	01 : 00 : 00
One Copper Cistern	01 : 00 : 00
One pair of Tables, 1 Grate and ffender, ffire shovell & Tongs 2 Window Curtains & Rod	01 : 10 : 00
In ye Nursery 1 paragon Bed and Bedstead ffeather Bed & Bolster Rug & 3 Blanketts	. 03 : 10 : 00
Another ffeather Bed & Bolster Red Rug & 3 Blanketts with a Little ffeather Bed under it One	02 : 00 : 00
Cupboard and a plane Scrutore	00 : 10 : 00
In ye Best Lodging, 1 bleu damask Bed with a Case ffeather Bed bolster and pillows, Callico Quilt Linnen Quilt & 7 armed Chairs	40 : 00 : 00
One Olivewood Table Stands and Glass	03 : 00 : 00
One Grate, ffire Shovell Tongs & prod & Window Curtains	01 : 05 : 06
A paper Screen & a Silk Screen	01 : 00 : 00
In Sr. Barrington's Chamber One Cloth Bed & Bedding with a Linen Quilt & 1 Chaire	08 : 00 : 00

£ : s : d

2 Chests of Drawers & a Table and Stand	01 : 10 : 00
In ye Closet 1 large Oval Table	00 : 12 : 00
In ye Dary 30 Bowls, 5 skools 2 milk Tubs, 2 piggins, Cheese-ffattts & other Husslement	00 : 13 : 04 ⁷⁹
In ye Hall 1 Range & a still	01 : 00 : 00
One Limbeck & a Large Brass pot	01 : 00 : 00
In ye Chamber over ye Stables 2 old Beds	00 : 15 : 00
16 empty Hogsheads	02 : 00 : 00
11 Damask cloathes and 5 dozen and 4 Napkins	07 : 00 : 00
In my Lady's Closet 2 doz. of diper Napkins & 3 Cloths	02 : 00 : 00 ⁸⁰
7 diper Cloaths & 5 doz. & 4 Napkins	03 : 00 : 00
5 doz: $\frac{1}{2}$ of Huggaback Napkins	01 : 10 : 00
10 Huggaback Cloths	01 : 10 : 00
7 paire of fine Sheets	05 : 08 : 00
4 paire of pillow beers	00 : 04 : 00 ⁸¹
14 paire of Using Sheets & 2 paire of pillow beers	03 : 10 : 00
11 pairs of Course Sheets for Servants Beds	01 : 02 : 00
One Web of Course Cloath	00 : 15 : 00
Seven damask	02 : 07 : 00(?)
In Scudamores Room 1 Bed-Stead with diet Curtains & feather Bed Bolster 2 Coverletts and a Blankett	02 : 00 : 00
One Bedstead with stripe Curtain 1 feather Bed, 2 bolster a ... Rugg & a Blankett	02 : 10 : 00
One Truckle Bed, 1 Little ffeather Bed 2 ffeather Bolsters, a flock bolster 1 desk and a table	00 : 12 : 06
In Mr. Topham's Chamber 1 ffeather Bed bolster & pillow 1 red rug and a Blankett	01 : 00 : 00
In John Robinson's Chamber 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ headed Bedsteads & bedding	02 : 05 : 00

79. Pigggin: a small pail or tub, a milking pail with erect handle. Cheeseffat: a cheese-vat, a cooper-made vessel used for pressing curd. Huslement: implements or odds and ends.

80. Diper: diaper, a liner fabric with a small diamond pattern in the weave.

81. Pillow beer (bere): pillow case.

£ : s : d

In ye Maids Chamber 1 Bedstead with Red Curtains, ffeather Bed 2 Bolsters 2 Coverletts & 2 Coverletts & 2 Blanketts	01 : 18 : 00
Another Bedstead with weaved Curtains ffeather Bed bolster 2 Coverletts & a Blankett	02 : 00 : 00
One Truckle Bedstead 1 Thin Bed & Coverlett	00 : 10 : 00
In ye 3 Bed Chamber 1 bedstead with green lath Curtains & 2 old feather Beds and bolster 1 Red Rugg 2 Blanketts and 2 pillows	03 : 15 : 00
Another suite of green Curtains 2 old feather Beds 1 quilt Bolster & one Rugg	... : ... : ...
One draw table 1 green long settle & 3 Chaires	00 : 15 : 00
One spinning wheel	00 : 02 : 00
In Mr. Beaver's Roome 1 Bedstead and Bedding	02 : 00 : 00
One Table and a Glass	00 : 03 : 00
In ye Kitching 19 pewter Dishes	03 : 06 : 08
10 Mazarions	⁸² 01 : 00 : 00
2 py plates & 4 Stands	00 : 08 : 00
3 little pewter dishes	00 : 04 : 00
2 Doz: & 4 plates	00 : 18 : 00
2 Dripping pans & 1 Iron	00 : 08 : 00
7 Spitts	00 : 10 : 00
3 Kettles & a ffish pan	00 : 16 : 00
3 Potts & Crookes & 2 pans with Bows	01 : 00 : 00
One Skillit & a posnit 2 stew pans and a Dish Cover	⁸³ 00 : 08 : 00
3 Rachans and a Brandroth 2 ffirepans, 2 Cleaves and a swading Knife and other Huslements in ye Kitchin	01 : 00 : 00
10 new dishes & 2 Mazarions and 4 doz. of plates in ye Store House	03 : 10 : 00
One Doz. of silver -----	01 : 10 : 00
One Coach, 1 Chariott & one black old Coach	23 : 00 : 00

82. Mazarion: a deep plate, usually of metal.

83. Crook: hook hung in an open chimney to support a pot or kettle Bow: handle. Posnit: a small metal pot or vessel for boiling, having a handle and three feet. Rachean (reckon): a chain by which cooking vessels were suspended over the fire. Brandroth: an iron tripod fixed over a fire. Swading knife: a knife for removing rind, since swad is the swarth or skin on bacon and the pod or husk on beans and peas.

	£ : s : d
In ye great Garnish Chamber old wheat & Rye & new Maslin	23 : 19 : 10
In ye Barn Wheat & Rye	55 : 02 : 00
2 Oxon & 2 Stears	22 : 00 : 00
2 ffat Kine	08 : 00 : 00
7 Milk Kine	26 : 07 : 00
2 Stears	08 : 00 : 00
4 small Heifers	08 : 00 : 00
2 little Calves	02 : 00 : 00
5 young Beasts	08 : 10 : 00
1 Haystack	26 : 00 : 00
6 fat Sheep	07 : 00 : 00
2 Coach Horses	40 : 00 : 00
One Gelding & 1 maire	10 : 00 : 00
One Gray Gelding	06 : 00 : 00
5 old Geldings & 2 old Maires	30 : 00 : 00
5 ... swine, 1 Sow & 2 ..	
Hoggs	06 : 10 : 00
2 old Waines, 2 old Carts ----	
Teams and other implements belonging to Husbandry	00 : 10 : 00
-----of wood	01 : 10 : 00
One haystack in ye Park	05 : 00 : 00
Manger in ye New Land	00 : 10 : 00
Manger sold to John Maugham	00 : 08 : 00
One calfe Crib in ye Ground	10 : 10 : 00
- Sheds of Sea Coales	05 : 00 : 00
3 Cart load of Western Coales	01 : 15 : 00
3 Loads of Hay	01 : 17 : 06
74 Pcs. of Silver Plate at 4 fls. ye ----	181 : 01 : 06 (?)
In bookes	15 : 00 : 00
One Watch	04 : 10 : 00

--- deducted for ffuneral Expenses	231 : 00 : 00
	<hr/> <u>£1413 : 07 : 02</u>
	<hr/> <u>£1182 : 07 : 00</u>

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ORTHOSTATIC FIELD WALLS ON THE NORTH YORK MOORS

By D. A. Spratt

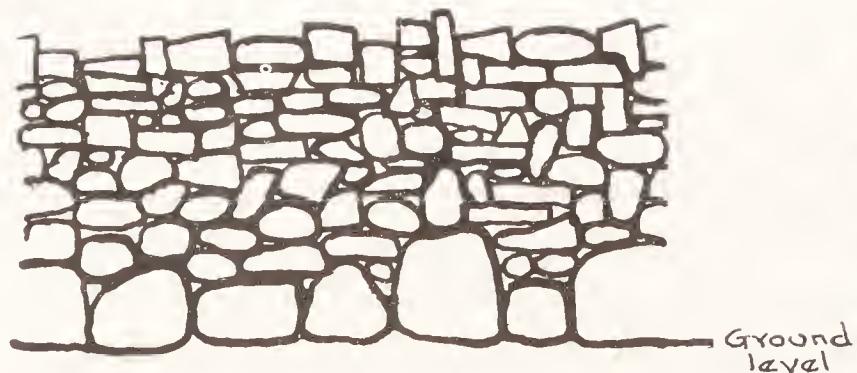
The North York Moors comprise an upland area in the north-east of Yorkshire, bounded by the North Sea on the east, the Cleveland basin on the north, and the Vales of Mowbray and Pickering on the west and south, about 60 kilometers east-west and 35 north-south. The central and northern moors consist of the Middle Jurassic sandstones. They are underlain by the Lower Jurassic shales which are frequently exposed in the many valleys, now occupied by fertile farms, contrasting with the heather moorland. The field walls, both on the moors and in the valleys, are made of the Middle Jurassic sandstones. By far the majority are built, with various degrees of skill and sophistication, in drystone walling, that is with handleable stones placed flat one on another (Fig. 1A), the final wall being one or two stones wide. Frequently a line of vertical coping stones is laid along the top, a labour-saving method of finishing the wall, and a deterrent to sheep scaling it. In some places, widely scattered, there can be seen lengths or fragments of a different style of wall, the base of which is at least partly composed of large vertical stones, bedded into the earth, known as an orthostatic wall (Fig. 1B). It should be distinguished from a boulder wall (Fig. 1C) which has large boulders as a foundation layer, not bedded in the ground. A



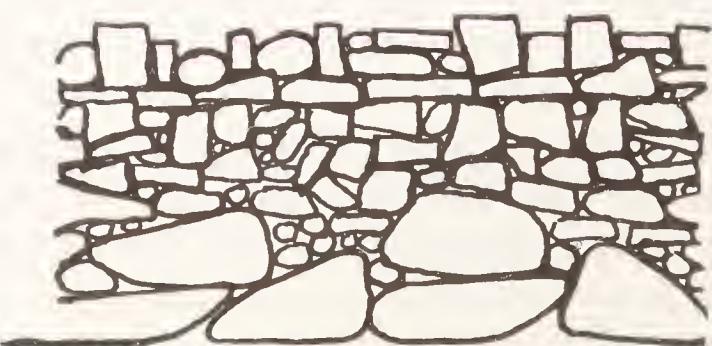
1A. Drystone wall.



1B. Orthostatic wall.



1C. Boulder wall.



1D. Orthostatic wall,
rebuilt with orthostats
laid horizontally.

Fig. 1. Structure of field walls on the North York Moors.

boulder wall is often found where a tumble of boulders has slipped down a hillside encroaching the farm land. It is not always easy to differentiate them in the field, and it is indeed possible to find walls with a mixture of orthostatic and boulder construction. Across the southern area of the moors, the walls on the limestone Tabular Hills are of the conventional drystone type, for the softer and more thinly bedded oolitic limestone does not lend itself to boulder or orthostatic wall building.

The dating of the orthostatic walls has been an intriguing problem. The technique was widely used in the prehistoric period, for example in the Dartmoor reave walls¹ as well as on the North York Moors. A good example is the prehistoric oval enclosure at Near Moor, Whorlton.² In Derbyshire the method was shown to be Romano-British.³ At Kildale in North Yorkshire the 13th century deer park wall is partly orthostatic. In certain parts of the country it has persisted into modern times, as in the Orkney Islands.⁴ The purpose of this paper is to present and discuss evidence for the date of these walls on the North York Moors.

FIELD WORK

This subject was discussed in Appendix 1 (Orthostatic Field Walls - an Unsolved Problem) in *Prehistoric and Roman Archaeology of North-East Yorkshire*² and the known orthostatic walls were listed in Table 35. An updated version of this is given as Table 1., which shows them as dispersed across the north and centre of the moors from Osmotherley in the west to Beast Cliff, Staintondale in the east (Fig. 2). Only in four places on this list (Low Arnsgill Farm (Snilesworth), Farndale, Struntry Carr Farm, Goathland and Thirley Cote Farm, (Harwood Dale), do they form the internal walls of farms. Elsewhere they are 'head dykes' dividing the farm from the open moorland, which are often on a natural boundary where the fertile land of the Lower Jurassic Shales meets the Middle Jurassic sandstone of the moor. At Bransdale, omitted from Table 1, there is a large number of orthostatic walls, both internal walls and head dykes. Orthostatic stones are not found in the straight walls of the eighteenth/nineteenth centuries either on the open moorland or the internal farm walls.

BRANSDALE

The most important observation of orthostatic walls to date is in Bransdale, where there are 26 such walls, both head dykes and internal walls, shown on Fig. 3. Bransdale is isolated, surrounded entirely by the moors, now accessible to both Kirkbymoorside and Helmsley by moorland roads, at distances of about 16 kilometres. Fortunately there have survived several monastic and post-Reformation documents for Bransdale, eighteenth and nineteenth-century maps with the field names. It is therefore possible to make some deductions of the ages of fields and walls from documentary sources, coupled with field observations. In the absence of excavated evidence, however, it is not possible to deduce the dates at which the early fields were laid out and the walls constructed, but only the dates when the fields were first recorded and named. It is thought that Bransdale was inhabited from the prehistoric period because a beehive quern⁵ and a saddle quern have been recently found in the dale, but we have no knowledge of the population density or of

1. Fleming, A., 1978, The prehistoric landscape of Dartmoor, Part 1, South Dartmoor. *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 44, 97-123.
2. Spratt, D. A., 1982, *The Prehistoric and Roman Archaeology of North-East Yorkshire*. British Archaeological Report 104, 135. Oxford
3. Hodges, R. and Wildgoose, M., 1980 Roman and Native in the White Peak in Branigan, K. (ed) *Rome and the Brigantes*. University of Sheffield, 48-53.
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5. Hayes, R. H., 1974, *The Ryedale Historian*, 7, 34.

TABLE 1. ORTHOSTATIC WALLS LISTED
WEST TO EAST, EXCLUDING BRANSDALE

<i>Place</i>	<i>O.S. Grid Reference</i>	<i>Comment</i>
Osmotherley	SE 475 965	Divides field from open moorland.
Arden, Hagg Farm	SE 513 936	One o.s. wall as head dyke another parallel to it on moorland.
Snilesworth, Low		
Arnsgill Farm	SE 523 954	Several o.s. walls on internal farm walls.
Hawnby Moor	SE 535 935	Head dyke.
Bilsdale West Side	SE 548 919	Orthostats in abandoned field walls.
Bilsdale Midcable,		
Tripsdale	SE 576 980	
Kildale Park Dyke	NZ 613 083	Orthostats in central section only of 13th century Park Dyke.
Sleddale	NZ 623 113	Head Dyke at S.W. corner of 'island' farm.
Farndale, Spring House	NZ 636 002	Two sections of o.s. walling.
Farndale, Spout House	SE 639 998	Three sections of o.s. walling.
Ankness	SE 639 935	Core fields of farm bounded by orthostatic walls.
Farndale, Elm House	NZ 641 008	Orthostats on linear earthwork.
Commondale	NZ 645 120	Head dyke.
Farndale, Ash House	NZ 647 001	Head dyke.
Farndale, Esk House	SE 650 997	Head dyke.
Commondale	NZ 651 110	Head dyke.
Commondale	NZ 658 106	Head dyke.
Commondale	NZ 660 098	Head dyke.
Westerdale	NZ 660 068	Head dyke.
Farndale, Hazel House	SE 662 967	Long o.s. boulder internal wall.
Farndale, Hall Farm	SE 665 985	Head dyke.
Commondale	NZ 665 096	Head dyke.
Castleton	NZ 667 074	Head dyke.
Rowantree Farm		
Ainþorpe	NZ 706 070	Internal farm wall.
High Askew		
Rosedale	NZ 745 917	Head dyke.
Struntry Carr Farm	NZ 811 026	Orthostats in old field bank.
Goathland, Allan		
Tofts Farm	NZ 831 026	Head dyke of 'island' farm.
Sleights	NZ 840 048	'Low Bridestones'. Remains of early field walls on moorland.
Thirley Cote Farm		
Harwood Dale	SE 980 950	Mixed boulders and orthostatic internal farm walls
Beast Cliff		
Staintondale	SE 990 990	Many orthostatic farm walls.

(This list is incomplete, as the whole area has not been exhaustively searched for orthostatic walls).

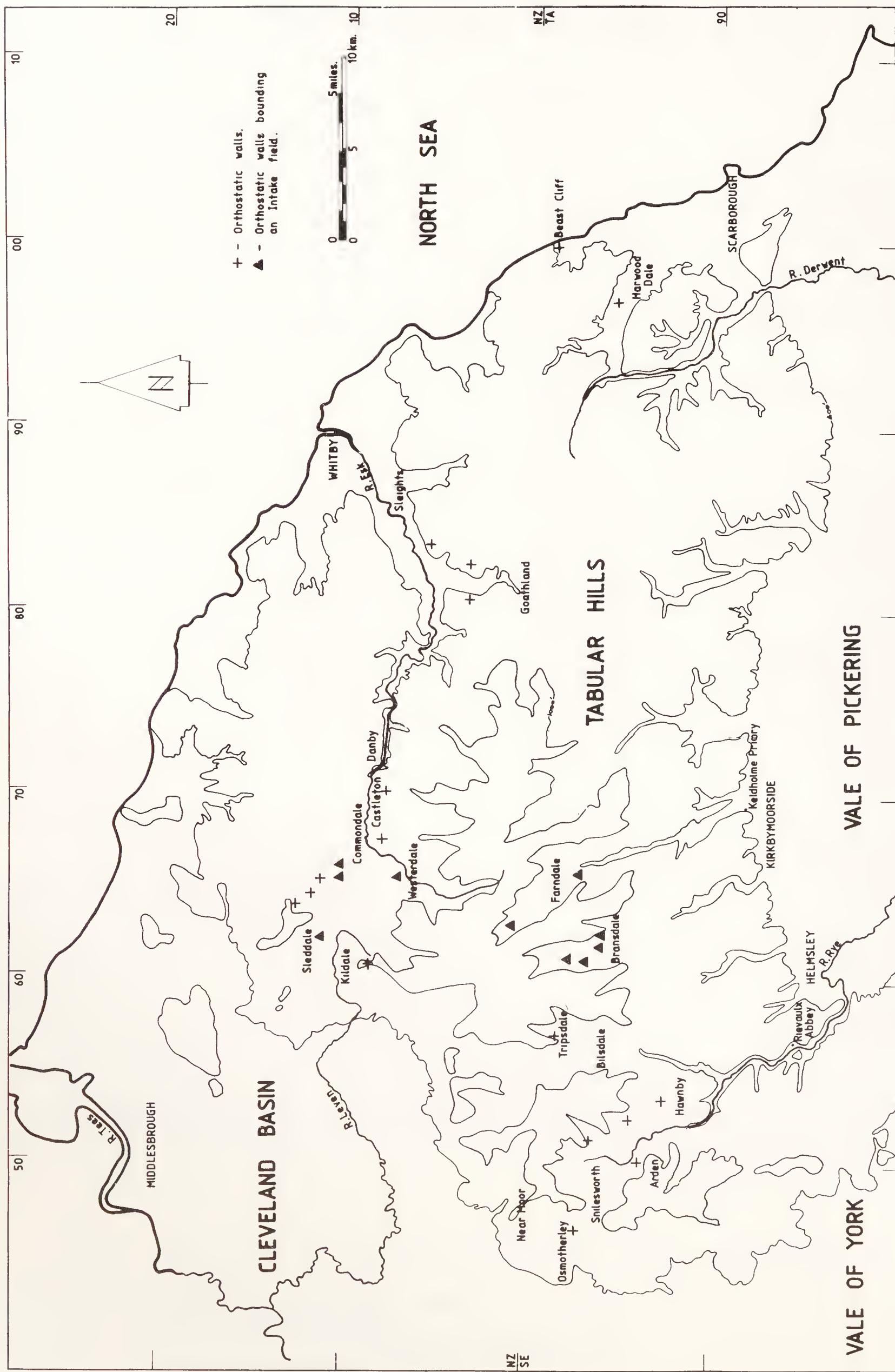


Fig. 2. Distribution of orthostatic walls on the North York Moors.

any field layout at that time. Indeed, it is not until the twelfth century that the monastic charters provide information on these points. There is no evidence of a church in Bransdale prior to the thirteenth century.⁶

Bransdale west of the Hodge Beck was granted to Rievaulx Abbey in 1154 (Early Yorkshire charters, Vol. IX, 232)⁷, and an area east of the beck to Keldholme Priory, with pasture, cultivated land and a vaccary, at about the same time (*ibid*, 92). By 1276 the east side of the dale was well populated, for the Inquisitions Post Mortem⁸ show 141 acres of land held by bondmen as fields, not as open field strips. By 1282 there were 25 bondmen paying £4.14.3 compared to £3.10.6 in 1276. Bondmen were serfs, owing heavy duties to their landlords, and in Bransdale these rents were very high. This may be an indication that the rents were recently agreed and that many of these bondmen had accepted their harsh conditions in the latter part of the 13th century, a time of great land hunger in England and in Europe as a whole. By 1570 and 1610 there were 12 tenants paying £9.6.1 in East Bransdale, on about the same acreage, evidence that farms had probably merged in pairs.⁹ At the time of the Dissolution Rievaulx had 8 tenants in the western half of the dale paying a total of £8.12.0.¹⁰ There are currently some twelve farmhouses in East Bransdale and eight in the western half, not all of them now used as working farms. Although open-field names such as Butts and Flatts survived until the making of the 1844 Tithe Map, there is little evidence that there was a true open-field system. (Some rig-and-furrow strips on the slopes below Bransdale Lodge at the north end of the dale could have been made simply for drainage purposes). In 1637 the balance of activity was predominantly pastoral. It was better to produce for exportable surplus animals which could be driven to market or wool which is more easily transported than corn in bulk from this remote dale. A typical holding recorded in Bransdale at this date comprised 120 acres, 36% ploughland for arable and pasture, 13% meadow, 51% pasture with moorland grazing for 20 beasts and 200 sheep.¹¹ The arable was confined to producing for local consumption, a pattern which has persisted. Between the Dissolution and the Enclosure Period (usually before 1800 in the southern townships of the area), reorganisation consisted mainly of taking in or reclaiming moorland piecemeal on individual farms, in fields on the moorland edge called Intakes. When the formal moorland enclosures became more common, the practice of intaking faded out on the North York Moors. There has therefore been no major reconstitution in the general field pattern of Bransdale and we see in places ancient fields at least as old as the colonisation under the aegis of Rievaulx and Keldholme in the second half of the thirteenth century. The greatest changes were the Intakes of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, and on some farms considerable reorganizations in the early nineteenth century.

The orthostatic walls in Bransdale are shown as heavy lines in Fig. 3. They are distributed the whole length of the dale, on both sides of the Hodge Beck, both above and below the road which encircles the dale at 250m. O.D. Mostly they are isolated, with other nearby walls consisting of conventional drystone walling, but at Colt House and Cowl House on the west bank, there are groups of orthostatic walls forming entire fields. A complete list of field names is provided by the maps listed in the references¹², some no doubt being of fairly recent origin. Some of the orthostatic walls bound fields which have medieval names. For example, the long orthostatic wall on the north side of the Colt House orthostatic wall complex is at its eastern end the boundary of the Waite Butts, which could

- 6. Morris, R. K., 1985, The Church in the Countryside. Chapter 5 in Hooke, D. (ed) *Medieval Villages. A review of Current Work*. Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 54.
- 7. Clay, C. T., 1982, *Early Yorkshire Charters Vol. IX. The Stuteville Fee Y.A.S. Record Series*.
- 8. Brown, W. (ed), 1891, *Yorkshire Inquisitions*. Y.A.S Record Series 12.
- 9. Surveys 1570 and 1610; PRO E164 Misc Books 37 and PRO CR 2 (186).
- 10. *Rievaulx Cartulary*, 1887. Surtees Society. Vol. 83.
- 11. *Helmsley Survey 1637*. North Yorkshire County Record Office, Northallerton.

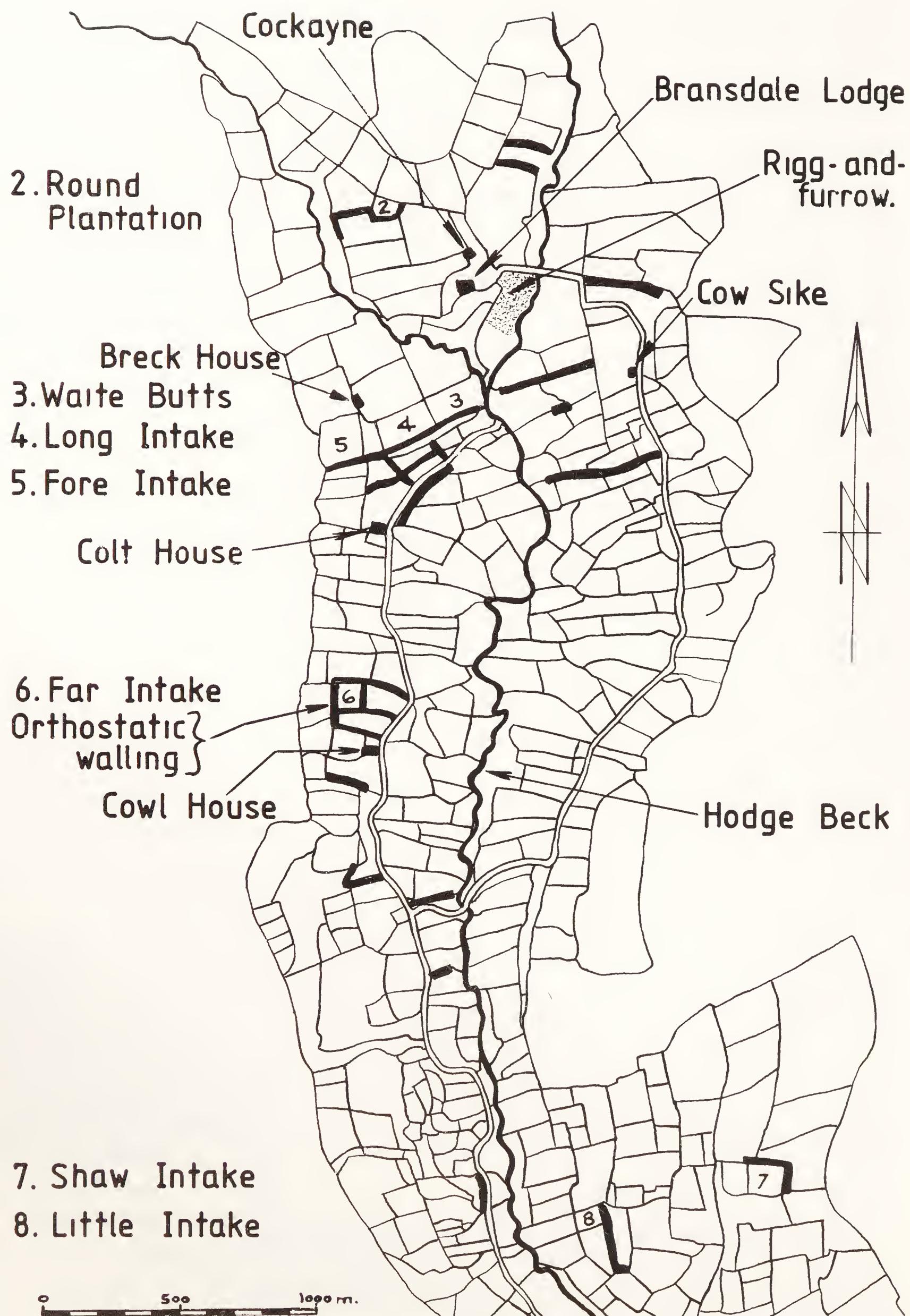


Fig. 3. Field boundaries in Bransdale, showing orthostatic walls.

be a field of the thirteenth century settlement or earlier. On the other hand, some of the walls bound fields with Intake names. The same long wall at Colt House is the boundary at its western end, where it abuts the moor edge, of the Fore Intake, and between the Fore Intake and Waite Butts, the Long Intake. And at Cowl House, the north-west field of the orthostatic wall complex, adjacent to the moor, is the Far Intake.

Now Chapman¹³ has made a study of Intake field names in the North York Moors. He showed that the name was seldom applied to fields in the thirteenth century, or in the period of land abandonment in the two succeeding centuries. It became much more common following the Dissolution until the enclosure period, and thereafter declined as more formal moorland enclosure by landowners inhibited the piecemeal intaking by individual tenants. It is very likely, then, that most of the Bransdale Intakes, like many others across the North York Moors, date from about 1550 to about 1750, and may have been either intakes or re-intakes. In fact all the orthostatic walls and many other drystone walls in Bransdale are built on top of large field banks and lynchets. This phenomenon is also apparent in the Snilesworth and Farndale areas, while Plate 1 shows an excellent example from the Pennines. These orthostatic walls were therefore not part of the original field boundaries. One likely scenario is that the field banks and lynchets mark the fields of the early colonizations and that the orthostatic walls were a later feature, many on the Intake fields of the period 1550-1750. We cannot at present be certain of the date spans of the lynchets; they might have been formed following the monastic settlement of the twelfth century and become fossilized in the fourteenth century as a result of the heavy mortality from the Black Death known to have occurred in this area.

The *terminus ante quem* of orthostatic walls in the north end of Bransdale can be confirmed by comparing the field walls on the 1782, 1826, 1828, 1844, 1854 and later O.S. maps. Some farms, such as Breck House, have altered their fields comparatively little since 1782. At this farm the orthostatic boundary wall with Colt House at the Fore and Long Intakes was in place before 1782. Cockayne Farm changed a great deal between 1782 and 1826, and has scarcely altered since. The three southern orthostatic walls of Round Plantation on this farm were built before 1782, but its northern wall, not orthostatic, only appears in 1826. Cow Syke Farm changed between 1782 and 1826 and again after 1854, but all the orthostatic walls were present in 1782. All the presently surviving orthostatic walls in north Bransdale had also been built by 1782, and subsequently only conventional drystone construction was employed.

12. Map of lands in Bransdale in the North Riding of the County of York, by J. Tuke, 1782 (North Yorkshire County Record Office ZEW. M7). A map of an estate in Bransdale the property of Charles Duncombe Esq, by Tukes and Ayer, 1818 (N.Y.C.R.O. ZEW. M27a).
A survey of Farndale and Bransdale the property of the Right Hon. Lord Feversham, by Tukes and Ayer, 1828 (N.Y.C.R.O. ZEW. M49). Tithe Apportionment and Map of Bransdale, 1844; High Farndale and Bransdale, 1847 (Borthwick Institute, York).

13. Chapman, J., 1961, *Changing Agriculture and the Moorland Edge in the North York Moors 1750 to 1960*. M. A. Thesis, London.

Intaking was widespread across the North York Moors, and we find a number of examples of Intake fields bounded by orthostatic walls, tabulated below:

Table 2. Intake fields bounded by orthostatic walls

<i>Area</i>	<i>Grid Reference</i>	<i>Intake field name</i>
Farndale, Hall Farm	SE 665985	Great Intake
Farndale, Hazel House	SE 662967	Intake
Farndale, Ash House	NZ 647001	Great Intake
Commondale, Foul Green	NZ 660098	Far Intake, Middle Intake
Commondale	NZ 655096	High Intake
Westerdale Moor	NZ 660068	Great Intake, Stony Intake, Little Intake Round Intake
Sleddale	NZ 623113	White Intake
Rowantree Farm, Ainthorpe	NZ 705070	Near Intake
 <i>Bransdale</i>		
Colt House Farm	SE 617 977	Fore Intake, Long Intake
Cowl House Farm	SE 615 969	Far Intake
Lidmoor Farm	SE 625 950	Little Intake
Moor House Farm	SE 630 952	Shaw Intake

It seems therefore that orthostatic walling was widely built on the North York Moors around the intake fields of 1550-1750, as in Bransdale itself which provides the best example.

SUPPORTING EVIDENCE

There are two lines of evidence which tend to confirm these observations. Firstly, the construction of orthostatic walling was discussed by Joseph Ford, a stone mason of Danby on the North York Moors in his memoirs.¹⁴ Ford, who died in 1946, made provision in his will for this publication, which contains much information handed down through his family, long resident in Danby. In a short essay on Stone Rearing Days he describes a tradition of co-operative building of orthostatic walls by village farmers, which continued well into the eighteenth century. Ford describes in detail the zig-zag nature of many of these walls, still a marked feature, which was caused by the builders altering the line of the wall to include large earth-fast boulders. Many of them were destroyed, he says, in the middle of the nineteenth century and even later, when the walls were rebuilt, cutting the orthostats into more shapely pieces. In the field in fact one often sees in the orthostatic walls, long stones, which judging by their weathered pointed ends had clearly served as orthostats, now laid horizontally near the base of the wall (Fig. 1D). Ford concludes by describing the straight drystone walls built from the late eighteenth century.

Much the same picture of a complete change of walling technique and its social organisation is provided for the Pennines by Dr. Raistrick.¹⁵ He described three types of walling around the dales villages. First the boulder walls surrounding the early closes in irregular patterns near the village, and second the squat and irregular walls beyond the closes, built after the breakdown of the common field system in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Raistrick quotes the By-Laws of the dales townships of this period to show that these walls were made and maintained by the villagers under the jurisdiction of the town Bylawmen. This was inadequate to meet the great demands of the enclosure

14. Ford, J., 1953, *Some Reminiscences and Folklore of Danby Parish and District*. Horne and Son. Whitby.

15. Raistrick, A., 1946, *Pennine Walls*. Dalesman Publishing Co.

period, when gangs of professional or part-time masons were employed to build the many miles of dry stone walling required. Plate 1, photographed by H. G. Ramm, shows the succession of field boundaries near Gordale Bridge, Malham (SD 914 633). The photograph shows three successive field boundaries: firstly the high lynchet formed by ploughing in early times; secondly the orthostatic wall built along it, probably indicating that farming had taken a more pastoral emphasis; thirdly the straight drystone wall of the enclosure period at right angles to the lynchet, showing a change of field pattern. This succession is similar to that observed on the North York Moors and seems to represent a common occurrence in the uplands of Northern England. There is much scope for further investigation of field walls in these areas.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

B.J.D. Harrison has made a documentary study of the medieval settlement in the dales of the North York Moors. I am indebted to him both for the references to the documents and, in great part, his interpretation of them. I thank him and a number of Yorkshire friends for comments on the draft of this paper, and also Tony Pacitto for drawing my attention to Joseph Ford's essay on 'Stone Rearing Days'. I am grateful to Herman Ramm for allowing me to publish his photograph of the walls at Malham. I am indebted to Roger Inman for drawing the figures with his customary skill.



Plate 1. Field boundaries at Gordale Bridge, Malham. The medieval lynchet is surmounted by an orthostatic wall which is cut by a nineteenth-century enclosure wall. (*Photo. H. G. Ramm*)

POLITICS AND AGRICULTURE IN THE EAST AND NORTH RIDINGS OF YORKSHIRE

By J. Phillip Dodd

The 1854 Crop Statistics, which I employed for my paper in 1979,¹ did not extend to the East and North Ridings. Therefore, I have turned to other sources, notably the several Reports and Inquiries launched by the pro-Corn Law faction during the first half of the nineteenth century. In these, farmers were represented as a much maligned class struggling to maintain their economic identity in the face of unsupportable costs. The present essay attempts to distinguish between the true state of agriculture and the ills from which it was alleged to suffer.

THE NAPOLEONIC WARS

During the duration of the Napoleonic Wars, changes were taking place in the Ridings but insofar as enclosure was concerned, much of the land involved had been taken in prior to the outbreak of hostilities. On the Wolds the peak period appears to have been during the latter part of the eighteenth century with about 206,000 acres enclosed by Act between 1730 - 1810, which left 20,000 acres for enclosure after 1810.² On the North Yorks Moors the greater volume of activity was likewise during the pre-War period. Of thirty five enclosures, twenty were effected before the War, nine during the War years and six in the post-War years.³

In this context the history of enclosure in the Ridings seems to have differed from that of many counties where the War stimulated an upsurge in Acts to enclose. Likewise whereas motivation was commonly attributed to the inflationary grain prices of the War years, this does not appear to have been so universally operative in the case of the Ridings. Thus, even as late as 1815 the Siltlands of Humberside remained 'mainly under grass despite the price at which corn had been selling'.⁴ In the instance of enclosure of the North Yorks Moors the motivation of high prices during the Napoleonic Wars 'cannot be substantiated from the Moors - - - it must be concluded that the Wars were of little significance; if the promoters of Acts saw profits in reclamation, they saw them in ordinary peacetime conditions as much as during the Wars'.⁵ Certainly not all contemporary reporters viewed enclosure as instigated by high grain prices as being a desirable undertaking. Strickland writing in 1812 noted that, 'those beautiful sheepwalks and pastures - - - verdant and fertile beyond any to be met with on the other downs and heaths of the kingdom, held out an irresistible temptation to modern avarice and under the plea of improvement they have been ploughed out'.⁶

1. Dodd J. Phillip, 'The West Riding Crop Returns for 1854' *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* Vol. 51 (1979) pp 117-129
2. Long W. Harwood, 'A Survey of the Agriculture of Yorkshire' Royal Agricultural Society, County Agricultural Surveys 6 (1969) 28
3. Chapman John, 'Parliamentary Enclosure in the Uplands; the case of the North York Moors' *Agricultural History Review* 24 (1976) 5
4. Long op. cit. 23
5. Chapman op. cit. 5
6. Strickland Henry, 'A Survey of the East Riding of Yorkshire, by order of the Board of Agriculture' (1812) 105

In some instances a desire to rid themselves of the exactations of tithe provided a motive for the enclosures. In Thornton Dale, 'the tithe-owners had a strong incentive to back an enclosure and accept land in lieu of tithes. The landowners subject to tithe were sometimes equally in favour, and in the Roxby and Scaling enclosure of 1813 this seems to have been the sole objective of the proprietors, for on completion of the award all allotments, plus a number of old enclosures were transferred to the tithe-owners in exchange for the extinguishment of charges throughout the parish. In others, such as Ebberston, it was at least a subsidiary motive'.⁷

On the Wolds the numerous and often extensive rabbit warrens suggested an obvious area where reclamation of the land for arable production could bring an enhanced return. It was estimated that, 'in 1808 the East Riding had twenty warrens altogether, covering 10,000 acres - - - some warrens were nearly 2000 acres in extent, but most were much smaller than this'.⁸ At Mowthorpe in 1790 'one third - - - was devoted to rabbit farming'. Richard Kirkby, who leased the farm was allowed to reclaim land from warren and sheepwalk in return for a substantial increase in rent.⁹ Although most reporters commented adversely on the apparent misuse of agricultural potential, the practice continued to attract notice as late as 1869.¹⁰ Actually, for some of this acid sandy land the sale of rabbits may very well have been the best economic outlet. On very similar sandy soils at the Old Pale Farm in Delamere Forest, Cheshire, the annual income for 1803 was some £468. Of this, 42 per cent represented cash received for summer leys i.e. the pasturing of beasts by numerous livestock farmers, 25 per cent was for grain growth, mainly oats, and nearly 33 per cent for rabbits. There were few overheads attached to the leys and rabbits, whereas for the grain sold there were appreciable costs for cultivation to be considered.¹¹ On balance, the farmer would have done better to have discontinued arable cultivation and to have given the acreage over to rabbits. This was a decision it would appear that many Wolds farmers had long reached.

On the domestic front the progress of the War was characterised by inflationary prices for grain, a process frequently stimulated by the monopolistic manipulations of farmers, millers and corn jobbers. Their activities were in evidence in many parts of the Ridings, as in Levisham, where the incumbent in 1801 reported, 'prices will not decrease in proportion to the returning plenty; unless some check can be given to the spirit of monopoly'.¹² At Market Weighton the report was that, 'the multitude of corn jobbers last winter was generally believed to be a very great evil'.¹³ This reference was to 1800 when throughout the kingdom the harvest was a failure and so deficient that starvation faced most of the population. At Guisborough corn no longer entered the open market because of the collusion between farmers and millers, the corn being sold by private treaty'.¹⁴ The curate of Kirby Ravensworth expressed the hope that, 'Government will no longer suffer the corn dealers to exercise their inhumanity over that part of His Majesties subjects whom their exorbitancy has reduced, in a manner, to complete beggary'.¹⁵ At Etton, 'the farmer will not bring his corn to the market, till he can have his own exorbitant price for it'.¹⁶ In the neighbourhood of Dalby many of the largest farmers had become corn badgers and, 'not

7. Chapman op. cit. 4

8. Long op. cit. 29

9. Harris A., 'Two Centuries of Farming on the Yorkshire Wolds' *North Yorkshire Record Office Publications No. 35*, Journal 10 (1984) 54

10. Jenkins H. M. 'Farm Reports' *Journal Royal Agricultural Society* 5 sec. series (1869) 400-404

11. Computed from the accounts for the Old Pale, Delamere Forest. Cheshire Record Office D CH/Q/8

12. B.P.P. *Crop Returns for 1801* HO67/20/38

13. B.P.P. supra HO67/26/446

14. B.P.P. HO/67/26/181

15. B.P.P. HO67/6/59

16. B.P.P. HO67/26/140

only withhold their own product but what they can purchase from the market, till they can by that means procure an exorbitant price'.¹⁷ So also at Wykeham where the opulence of the large farmers was remarked, 'who withhold their corn in the hopes of keeping up the price'.¹⁸

Disapproval of the action of farmers and millers in forcing up prices regardless of the sufferings of the poorer elements in the population was widely expressed, particularly in forcefully worded petitions to the government. The agricultural interest, alarmed by the adverse publicity, initiated a policy of counter-propaganda aimed at showing that farmers and landlords were unfairly maligned and that the industry was constantly teetering from the threat of one disaster to another. Protection from foreign competition was needed or should be enhanced, taxation pressed unfairly on the landed interest and should be removed, poor rates were an oppressive burden on the land, labour costs were too high and rents should be reduced. The first expression of this partisan defence of agriculture came in 1804 and was followed by the Report on the Agricultural State of the Kingdom in 1816, then came a series of Reports on the depressed state of agriculture in 1821, 1833, 1836 and 1848. The Evidence given before these Select Committees was selective in that the members of the committees were mainly advocates of protection for agriculture, witnesses were carefully chosen and the questions addressed to them were framed so as to elicit the answer required to support the case for agriculture.

The Enquiry of 1804 was designed to indicate that all farming inputs had risen between 1790 and 1803. For Yorkshire, it was shown that rent had increased by over 53 per cent, tithe per acre by 43 per cent and parish taxes by 119 per cent. Cultivation expenses had risen by 52 per cent for turnips, 36 per cent for barley and 50 per cent for wheat, while manure costs had advanced by 93 per cent. Labour evinced a rise of nearly 55 per cent for winter rates and almost 15 per cent for summer, These were the normal rates and those for the harvest period had advanced by over 66 per cent.¹⁹ Total expenses were alleged to have increased by nearly 40 per cent. No details of outputs were given and this was the general omission in most similar calculations in the evidence presented to the later Select Committees.

Comparable increased costs were reported for every county, but it does not appear to have occurred to the Board of Agriculture that the non-agricultural public might be puzzled by this nation-wide attachment to agricultural philanthropy, when farmers could cut their losses by getting out and putting their capital out at interest. The majority of farmers in the Ridings were on annual tenancies so that they could move out at will. That they chose to stay says much for the profitability of farming at this time. This is emphasised by the fact that they were able to absorb quite severe increases in rent. In Holderness of 12, 594 acres of the Constable estate the rent in 1801 averaged 18 shillings per acre but in 1802 this advanced to £1-4s-6d.²⁰ At Everingham, rents increased by 36 per cent between 1796 and 1806.²¹ The statement that in Yorkshire the overall increase in farm inputs was of the order of 40 per cent requires amplification. As tithe directly correlates with output are we to assume that productivity expanded by 43 per cent? As for parish taxes and labour costs, one needs to know when these effectively increased. Was it in 1790 or not until much closer to 1803?

There was no reference made in these Reports to the value of outputs, without

17. B.P.P. HO67/26/117

18. B.P.P. HO67/26/469

19. *Communications to the Board of Agriculture* Vol.5 1804, 18-31 'Enquiry into the average prices of cultivation for each county 1790-1803' Report on Yorkshire

20. Ward J.T. 'East Yorkshire Landed Estates in the Nineteenth Century' *East Yorks. Local History Society* Vol.23 (1967) 22-3

21. Ward supra 25

knowledge of which the partisan argument falls to the ground. Taking wheat as a case in point, the acreage price per quarter was 65s 7d for the period 1790 - 1802. This represented a rise of 43.5 per cent over the acreage for the preceding ten years with comparable statistics for other grains. In viewing this and the apparent support afforded by the tithe evidence, one has to assume that farmers in the Ridings were doing well out of the contemporary situation. Certainly there was no lack of enthusiasm to take on whatever new ground became available. In Newton Dale on the North Yorks Moors, 315 acres of Low Moor were reclaimed by Richard Simpson between 1778 and 1791. By 1817 his neighbours had taken in, fenced and reclaimed all the remainder of the land embraced by the award.²² At Arras, 800 acres, mostly rabbit warrens, had been ploughed, sub-divided and hedged by 1820.²³

Richard Kirkby at Mowthorpe had a lease at £840 per annum in 1781. This was renewed for seven years in 1789 at the rate of £930 a year. By 1803 Kirkby was on an annual tenancy at £1,600 per annum and within a few years he had increased his holding to 2,006 acres and was paying £2,600 per annum.²⁴ Other farmers in these years were also able to absorb massive increases in rent; thus on the great Escrick estate rents advanced by 43 per cent in 1812-13.²⁵

Expansion was not restricted to the arable interest in agriculture. Strickland in 1812 stated that in Holderness the emphasis was on breeding and grazing. In 1818 these men could afford to pay four or five guineas per acre for pasture in the Hedon area and at Hull grazing land let at £8 to £10 per acre.²⁶ Holderness was celebrated for its Shorthorn cattle but the improved Tees-side breed gradually penetrated the Ridings. Between 1800 and 1809 new breeders of the improved Shorthorns were to be found in the East and West Ridings, 'while from 1810 to 1819 clusters of breeders were appearing around previously isolated individuals - particularly on the Howardian Hills, north of Malton, and in South Yorkshire'.²⁷

THE POST-WAR PERIOD

During the War the rewards from agriculture had been such that farmers were eager to take on additional land, which they did by borrowing, often at very high rates of interest, regardless of the fact that some day the War might finish and a day of reckoning might arise. When the end came in 1815 financial confidence rapidly evaporated and panic quickly set in. In 1813 despite an abundant harvest the price of wheat had remained high at 106s 8d per quarter. There were better yields in 1814 and 1815 which brought prices down to 72s 1d and 63s 8d respectively. Charles Western, the spokesman for agriculture in the Commons, declaimed in 1816 that farmers 'as fast as they could realise or borrow money, they employed it in the purchase or improvement of land; and that facilities for obtaining credit in late years have universally stimulated this practice. In this situation, can we be surprised at their alarm and their distress? The price continued to fall until their property diminished one-half, and their creditors press for the repayment of advances which they now begin to consider no longer safe'.²⁸

The Board of Agriculture, determined to demonstrate the parlous state of the agricultural interest, issued a 'Circular Letter to the most opulent and intelligent

22. Chapman op. cit. 15

23. Harris Alan 'The Lost Village and the Landscape of the Yorkshire Wolds' *Agricultural History Review* VI. (1958) 98

24. Harris (1984) op. cit. 54

25. Ward op. cit. 20

26. White William *History, Gazetteer and Directory of the East and North Ridings* (1840) 20-21

27. Walton John R. 'The Diffusion of the Improved Shorthorn Breed of Cattle in Britain during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries' *Trans. Institute British Geographers* 9 (1984) 28

28. Western Charles Report of Speech reprinted in *English Historical Documents* XI 1783-1832 (1959) 483

landowners' in England, Wales and Scotland in 1816. As by their replies the Board recognised that they stood to lose £9 million per annum the tenor of the replies may be anticipated. Sir William Strickland of Boynton, stated that, 'the distress of the farmers is sufficiently proved by those who have been industrious and careful and hitherto punctual; being now unable to pay their rents; by calling in their capitals, whenever they had any applied in other ways, in order to enable them to live, to pay their rent and taxes; by the diminished energies in the cultivation of their lands; by the extraordinary numbers of farmers that have lately been sold up, and the ruinous prices at which their property has been sold - - - by the unusual numbers of farms that are advertised to be let - -. The produce of arable lands has depreciated about two-thirds, stock between one third and one quarter - ,'²⁹

William Iveson of Holderness said that, 'distresses for rents and taxes, executions levied by the sheriff, assignments for the benefit of creditors, and arrears with tradesmen, are the most apparent circumstances denoting distress. One half of the farmers are in a state of insolvency.'³⁰ Comparable reports were made by Sir H. Vavasour of Pocklington and Charles Howard of Sutton. Other commentators discounted the view that many farms were unoccupied: these included William Stickney of Ridgmont, the Holderness Agricultural Society, William Iveson of Holderness and John Iveson of Ditton. John Johnson of Welton near Hull stated that one farm was unoccupied and William Butler of Knottingley noted that there were several lacking tenants.³¹

Reports of notices to quit farms varied from 'some' to 'many' but these did not always agree with comments by other reporters in the same area. Thus Holderness Agricultural Society considered that there were numerous instances, while William Iveson for the same area stated that there were 'some'. Abatements of rent had been made fairly generously but amounts varied from 10 to 33 per cent. Most reported a considerable increase in the poor rate which was only to be expected as everywhere in Holderness and the East Riding the numbers of labouring poor without employment had greatly risen. None of these disasters were reported from the West Riding and virtually none in the North Riding.

All reporters other than landlords, advocated a reduction in rents, but all agreed taxes must come down. Imports should be reduced, and shades of intervention policy. William Stickney wanted the government to buy corn, while William Butler advocated that the government should lay out £1 million for this purpose. On the whole the Yorkshire replies were more temperate than was the case in many other areas. However the agricultural lobby appears to have overplayed its hand, few copies of the Report were printed and the printer went bankrupt. One criticism reproduced in the provincial press which emanated from the *Courier* read, 'It was unwise of the Board to suppress the Report - queries to the landowners were unwisely drawn out. Without intending it, they do tend to produce answers generally in one sense, and that an alarming one. Taken as a mass they would induce any foreigner to believe that the cultivation of the country was in a dreadful state, whereas it was never carried to such a height before. Lands that yielded nothing are now rendered productive - -. To the questions of the Board, the answers are for the most part gloomy. - - One effect such enquiries always produce - - they always increase the alarm and give rise to a disposition to exaggeration'.³²

Even Charles Western felt obliged to confess that, 'during the last twenty years, agriculture has certainly advanced with rapid strides - - two or three good harvests from this extensive and improved agriculture, together with continued import, and demand

29. Reply to a circular Letter by the Board of Agriculture on *The Agricultural State of the Kingdom in February, March and April 1816* (1816) 363

30. supra 371

31. supra 361-2

32. *Salopian Journal* 11 September 1816

reduced, have occasioned such a surplus in the market, as very obviously accounts for the first depression of the price. The farmers soon became alarmed and began to experience distress. Their alarm was increased by the rejection of the Corn Bills of 1813 and 1814, and by the apparent determination of the public to resist any measure of that sort, and likewise that - - the peace would necessarily restore the low prices which existed prior to the war. They felt - - that they should soon be hurried into the market and compelled to take any price that was offered'.³³

The troubles of the arable farmers of the Ridings were thus much of their own making. In common with farmers elsewhere they had over-extended cultivation beyond the capacity of the market to consume the product for the time being. They had gone well beyond the limits of their capacity to repay or to meet the charges for interest on the land they had invested in and in the panic which ensued, they aggravated the situation by discharging a great part of the labour force as an immediate relief to their outgoings. This had the effect of reducing production of arable crops without being able to substitute by livestock output, and by reducing the viability of their farms by reducing essential maintenance. Further the discharge of the labour force brought its own retribution as the poor rates - largely a charge on the landed interest, - at once soared and the surplus labour had to be taken on by the 'roundsman' system. The effect of this was to reduce the earnings of labour and thereby spending capacity, which further reduced demand for agricultural produce without appreciably bringing down the poor rates.

THE COLLECTION OF CROP STATISTICS

The government during the 1790s was forcefully made aware that it lacked knowledge of essential foodstocks and of the agricultural potential of the country. This in a time of trying to conduct a war and when there was report of imminent insurrection, food shortages and famine. Thus at New Malton on the 8th January 1800 Earl Fitzwilliam's agent reported, 'we distributed 460 quarts of soup and as many penny loaves to the poor of New Malton'. At Old Malton 120 quarts with bread were given out.³⁴ Attempts were made to gather information in 1795 and 1800 but these were poorly organised and resulted in failure.³⁵ A third scheme for the collection of crop returns was made in 1801, which although deficient for some counties was a greater success. For the most part the only valid statistical assessment of the data is to evaluate it in terms of crop ranking of the cereal grains. Most students of the material have been forced to adopt this approach and a recent attempt to project arable acreages is regrettably not viable.³⁶

As mapped (Fig. 1) in terms of the crop ranking in 1801, the regional distribution is illuminating. Oats emerge as the most widely grown cereal over the greater part of the North and East Ridings. In some areas such as the Vale of Pickering with 65 per cent, of the total grain in oats, and on the Howardian Hills 71 per cent, the crop verged on monoculture. Wheat exercised dominance on the Tees Lowland with 52 per cent of the acreage and also in the East Riding and Holderness south of Bridlington. This was heavy land as shown by the importance of beans in cropping. Thus at Hornsea, Withernwick, Mapleton, Cherry Burton, Paull, Keyingham, Preston, Elstronwick, Kirk Ella, Holmpton, Welwick, Easington and Kilnsea, beans occupied second place in the crop ranking, while at Long Riston, Wawne, Swine, Sutton on Hull, Marfleet, Thorngumbold,

33. Western op. cit. 482

34. *English Historical Documents XI 1718-1832* (1959) 479

35. Dodd J. Phillip 'South Lancashire in Transition, a Study of the Crop Returns for 1795-1801' *Trans. Historic Society Lancs, and Cheshire* 117 (1965) 99-102

36. Turner Michael 'Arable in England and Wales: estimates from the 1801 Crop Returns' *Journal Historical Geography* 7 (1981) 291-302. All students of the 1801 Crop Returns are however indebted to Michael Turner for the transcriptions now available in Vols 189, 190, 195, 196 of the List and Index Society.

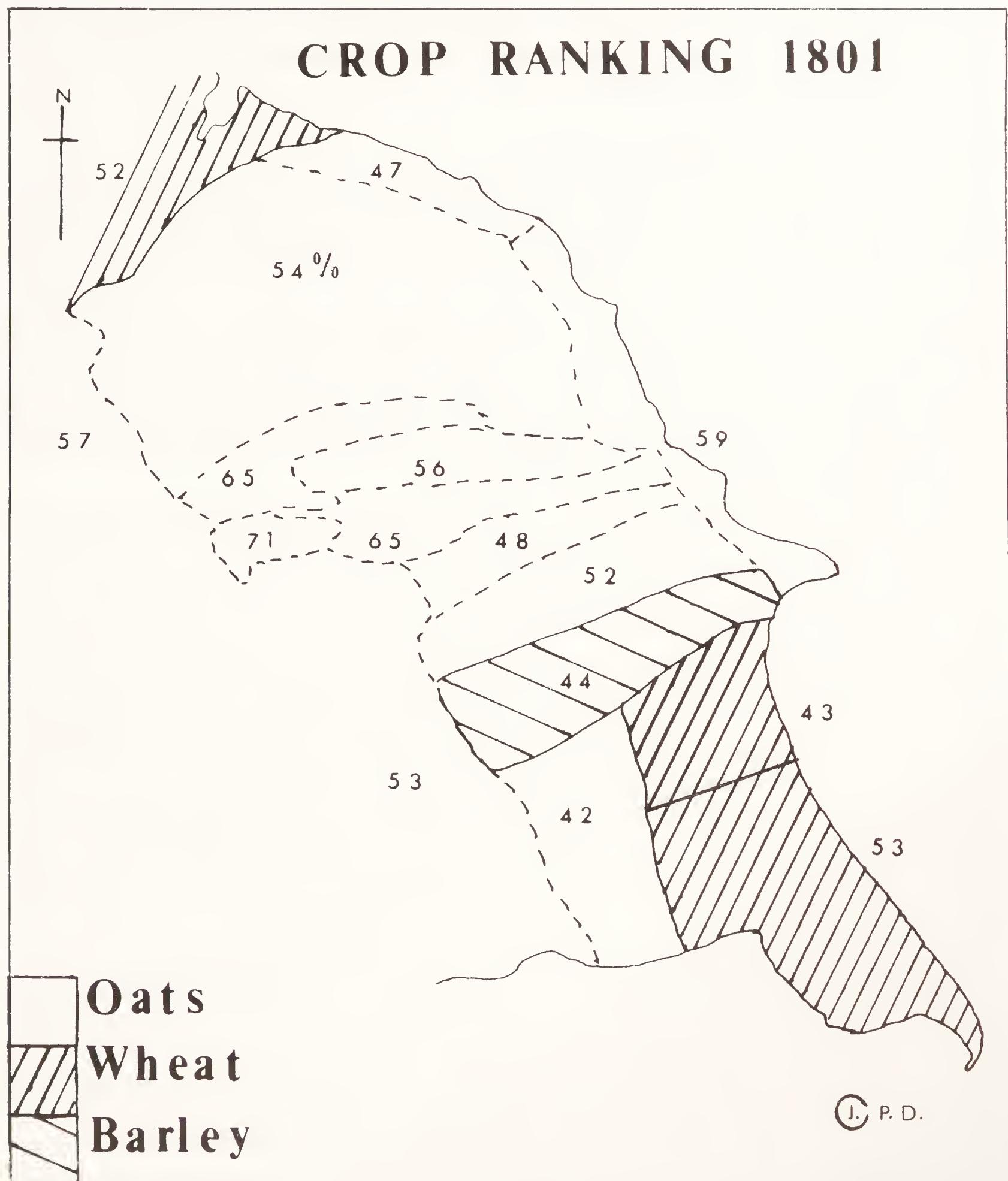


Fig. 1. Crop ranking in the East and North Ridings, 1801.

Burton Pidsea, Sproatley, Hessle, Humbleton, Aldbrough, Garton, Withernsea and Patrington the third place was taken by beans. In many of these parishes the rotation consisted of two crops and a fallow, a practice which continued for a long time to come.

On the lighter Wold soils, barley occupied a broad band extending from Warter to Bridlington, and as one would anticipate turnips were an important crop in all these parishes. Turnips were also a significant element in the rotation of Brandesburton, Sigglesthorne, Swine, Burstwick, Humbleton, Aldbrough, Londesbrough and Market Weighton, while at Sancton, turnips took up second place after oats with barley third and wheat a poor fourth. In North Newbald turnips displaced wheat in third place. On the Sledmere estate the acreage devoted to turnips far outstripped that of other crops, a

development one might expect of the Sykes' management. On the Tees Lowland as at Guisborough, Ormsby and other parishes, turnips occupied the second or third place in the crop ranking. This was the case also at Fylingdales, Lastingham, Hawnby, Kilburn, Coxwold, Gilling East and Oswaldkirk.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE REPORTS

During the war, farmers on the claylands operating the two crops and a fallow rotation had been able to continue in profit but after 1815 they began to experience more sharply the competition from the more progressive farmers on the lighter lands. This was a widespread phenomenon and by 1820 there was a demand for government action to bail them out of their difficulties. However there was a limit to what even a government sympathetic to the agricultural interest could do. The Report of the Select Committee of 1821 set out the facts very frankly, 'The ruinously low prices of agricultural produce at this moment cannot be ascribed to any deficiency in the protecting power of the law. Protection cannot be carried further than monopoly. This monopoly the British grower has enjoyed for the produce of the last two harvests; the ports --- having been uninterruptedly shut against all foreign import for nearly thirty months'.³⁷

The average price of wheat for 1804 - 1815 had stood at c.86 shillings a quarter, an increase of 22.8 per cent on the previous decade. Between 1816 - 1820 the return declined to an average of 78s 5d, a reduction of 8.8 per cent. In view of the acknowledged over-production and the failure of farms with one third in fallow every year to be competitive, some of the less productive land should have been put down to grass. Legard advocated this for some of the land in the Vale of York.³⁸ This was a solution considered by some witnesses giving evidence before the 1821 Committee. The problem attached to laying down arable to grass was that there was a time lag of two or three years before livestock farming became viable. Thus although many witnesses agreed that meat production was more profitable, farmers 'have not the capital to enable them to invest an expenditure of two or three years in the growth of meat, but by breaking up their old pastures and destroying the fertility of the land, they are enabled to produce a greater relative proportion of production of the plough in the markets than of the productions of grazing land'.³⁹ Farmers in the Ridings therefore continued to aggravate their plight by increasing the arable acreage and so seemed unable to break out of the spiral of uneconomic production.

Some tenants were able to effect a reduction in rent. On the Wolds, Pennington tenants of the Warter and Nunburnholme estates forced the family to reconsider its rental strategy. In 1819-20 the annual rental stood at some £6,859 but this was advanced to £6,930 in 1820, which was somewhat inept given the economic conditions at that time. By 1821 rent arrears totalled some £2,410 which included £965 underpaid in 1821.⁴⁰ A programme of rationalisation was instituted and the 58 holdings of 1828 by sub-division were re-constituted as 66 in 1831. Rents were reduced and improvements effected and in 1831 the rental was £5,115 per annum, which was somewhat different from the inflationary £7,621 rental of 1814-15.

However, landowners do not appear to have been deterred from investment in land, it was still thought to be a sound hedge against the future. Lord Hotham, with estates in the North and East Ridings and in the Richmond area, expended some £29,590 on acquiring

- 37. B.P.P. *Report of the Select Committee on the depressed state of agriculture* (1821) Parliamentary Debates, New Series V Appendix lxix-cii
- 38. Legard George 'The Farming of the East Riding of Yorkshire' *Journal Royal Agricultural Society* IX (1849) 90
- 39. B.P.P. *Report of the Select Committee on Agricultural Distress* 1821-2 Minutes of Evidence (1822) 165 Vol 1 216-17
- 40. Ward op. cit. 53-4

new land, much of it to the north of Beverley.⁴¹ Wold farmers also pressed on in devotion to arable cultivation and at Mowthorpe, Abraham Topham had no hesitation in taking up arable farming at High Mowthorpe in 1818, while Richard Kirkby who had extended his original holding at Mowthorpe to take in land at Duggleby and Kirby Grindalythe, in 1820 could gaze over Mowthorpe then, 'turned into a great corn-growing farm'.⁴² Thorp writing in 1841 claimed that since 1816, 'the quantity of wheat grown had been doubled and that of barley quadrupled'.⁴³ Legard in 1848 considered that two thirds of the land was then arable compared with one third in 1812. At Ridgmont in the parish of Burstwick by 1836 a farm of 820 acres had reduced its grass acreage to 240 acres.⁴⁴ This was wheat and bean land but although red clover had been introduced, up to 1849 roots were not part of the rotation.⁴⁵

The continued extension of arable possibly outstripped consumer demand for the product despite population increase, certainly the average wheat price declined to 59s 4d per quarter in the period 1821 - 1832, a reduction of 21.9 per cent on the period to 1816. The weather contributed to problems with three successive wet years in 1829, 1830 and 1831 which particularly affected the productivity of the wetter wheat and bean lands.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE OF 1833

Once more a Select Committee was set up to consider the depressed conditions of agriculture. Its Report in 1833 stressed the nation-wide damage to the agricultural interest. Charles Howard who had given Evidence at earlier Inquiries, stated that although farmers on the Wolds had done well from the prevailing high price for wool, those of Holderness had suffered very much and the average product of wheat had fallen to three quarters per acre. This had brought a reduction in rents. The increase in the price of wool had been occasioned by the sheep losses due to foot rot in the three wet years. 'The whole of the flocks in the lowlands of Holderness and Howdenshire had been carried off by foot rot and no sheep remained'.⁴⁶ Much of this land was hardly suitable for sheep as flooding of low-lying lands was a perennial problem. Of Howdenshire it was reported, 'no great public effort is made to carry the water (of Ouse and Humber) thence by efficient trunk drainage - at present there is no proper drainage for this extensive district. The Derwent --- floods a vast area for miles in extent and for weeks together'.⁴⁷

As few farmers would have been unwise enough to put sheep on such ground, Howard's comment probably remained within the bounds of truth although the impression conveyed was rather different from what would have emerged had he been discussing the true drier sheep country of the Wolds. Although one speaks of 'Evidence' what arises from all of those inquiries are answers by witnesses to specific questions framed by members of the Select Committee. Thus Howard stated that Howdenshire and the lowland in the south-west part of the East Riding had nearly ceased to cultivate, although wheat and beans had been grown there from time immemorial. Question 5341 was to the effect of what price would encourage production to continue? The reply was that the 'land cannot remain in cultivation if the price is 5 shillings for a bushel of wheat'. This reply implying that 40 shillings per quarter was viable was obviously not supportive of the Protectionist case so Question 5342 was put asking what the price would have to be to permit the land to continue in cultivation. Howard replied that, 'for that land to be cultivated, wheat ought

41. Ward *supra* 27

42. Harris *op. cit.* (1984) 55

43. Quoted by Legard *op. cit.* 108

44. Long *op. cit.* 23

45. Long *supra* 24

46. B.P.P. *Report of Select Committee on Agriculture* (1833) Evidence of Charles Howard

47. Wright W. 'The Farming of Yorkshire' *Journal of Royal Agricultural Society* 22 (1861) 95

not to be lower than 60 shillings a quarter'.

This was more to the liking of the Committee and the point could later be made that below a price of 60 shillings land would go out of cultivation. Leading questions and rephrasing to secure the desired answer were commonplace ploys as in Cheshire when a witness was asked whether poor rates were much increased, his reply was, 'we are very well off for poor rates in general; they have not increased in that proportion they have in many other counties'. In a following question his response was that in his own parish the poor rates were nearly double the levy of 1800. The next question was, 'Would that not sufficiently account for the fact that the same price of corn would not now afford the same rent as in 1800?' The witness then made the desired answer, 'Yes, the poor rates have been a very serious evil indeed, and they are increasing in most places'.⁴⁸

THE PROTECTIONIST LOBBY

In the 1840s the Anti-Corn Law League was gathering strength and its influence was clearly felt by the Wolds farmers and others in the East Riding who were devoted to the maintenance of Protection. Substance to this attachment was lent by the support given to secure the election of Lord Hotham as M.P. in 1841. John Almack of Beverley was a keen Protectionist while the Hotham camp also included Sir Henry Boynton, Charles Grimston, William Hildyard, T.D. Legard, Sir T.A. Clifford Constable, H.B. Bainton, Joseph Dunnington-Jefferson, Norcliffe Norcliffe, George Lane-Fox, William St. Quintin, Arthur Duncombe, Philip Saltmarshe, Sir Tatton Sykes, Christopher Sykes, H.G. Barnard and others. Lord Hotham was duly elected to Parliament in 1841.⁴⁹

Societies for the Protection of Agriculture were instituted in many counties and in April 1844 the subscription list of the Yorkshire Protection Society was of the order of £8,055, while that for the Doncaster Local Society stood at £521-2s-6d.⁵⁰ Lord Hotham, supported by Arthur Duncombe voted in support of the Protectionist interest,⁵¹ and George Hudson, speaking in February 1846, invited members of the Government to visit Yorkshire, stating that they, 'will not find distress or anything like distress there; but I will not answer for what may ensue if the present Bill pass into a law'.⁵² However despite the efforts of the Yorkshire Protection Society the cause was lost and men devoted to agriculture, such as Philip Pusey, had already recognised that defeat was inevitable. 'Since all these political appearances I have felt it necessary to speak out, and have told the farmers that we are beaten, and that protection, even if any protection could be retained would never be of any use to them - protection to agriculture, a sickening sound, has been our only bond of union, and where is another to be found?'.⁵³

THE POST-REPEAL PERIOD

Following Repeal in 1846 the disasters, which the Protectionist lobby had for so long proclaimed as inevitable once this occurred, failed to eventuate. The process of enclosure, tile draining and improvement - designed to extend the arable acreage and to increase yields continued without interruption. There was no sign of any reduction in the growth of

48. Select Committee of 1833 evidence of Joseph Lee for Cheshire Note: It may be thought that my view of the proceedings of these Select Committees is somewhat jaundiced. Any other student of the hundreds of thousands of questions and answers contained in the 'evidence' of inquiries into the state of agriculture from 1816 onwards, would probably be even more forthright.

49. Ward op. cit. 26-7

50. Report in *Chester Courant* 6 April 1844

51. *Hansard* 'Report of Adjournment Debate on Total and Immediate Repeal of the Corn Laws' 3 March 1846

52. *Hansard* Debate of 17 February 1846 p. 1138

53. Letter of Philip Pusey to Sir Thomas Acland 16 December 1845. Reproduced in McCord N. *The Anti-Corn Law League* 1838-46 (1958) 199

cereals. Thus Philip Saltmarshe of Frodingham Grange stifled his Protectionist regrets and grew cereals as before, while draining his land with tiles set 18 inches deep. In South Holderness, Mansfield Harrison carried on with the traditional wheat, beans and fallow course, although he fallowed the best land with rape well manured.⁵⁴ George Hudson, despite his fighting speeches in the House, continued to cultivate his improved sands at Market Weighton⁵⁵ while at Patrington, William Marshall proved ready to invest and employed Josiah Parkes in 1850 to drain the land. At Brandesburton the programme of enclosure and improvement instituted in 1846 took in its stride drainage costs of £2,000 for 600 acres.⁵⁶

The loss of confidence in arable farming according to the Protectionists allegedly would reduce rent rolls after Repeal. One or two landowners made sympathetic noises after the harvest of 1853 but otherwise rent rolls remained as they were and indeed increased on some estates. At Everingham between 1845 and 1854 rents were reduced by 2 per cent, at Seaton Ross by 8.6 per cent, and at Beilby by 33.7 per cent. On other parts of this estate rents remained as they were or increased by 9.3 per cent.⁵⁷ At Sledmere rents from 1845 to 1848 increased by 4.6 per cent,⁵⁸ while at Scotton rents between 1844 and 1854 remained static but those of Hulton and Angram fell by 12 per cent and at Escrick by 9 per cent. All other rents of the Escrick estate were advanced by amount sof 3.1 to 17.2 per cent over the same period.⁵⁹ At High Mowthorpe Abraham Topham had sufficient confidence to meet a rent of £975 for 1,049 acres in 1852 and in the next 25 years expended some £1,000 on improvements at his own expense.⁶⁰

However some changes in the pattern of agriculture were discernible. Railway development extended market scope for farmers as in the East Riding between Hull and Bridlington in 1846 and from Malton to Driffield in 1853 which materially influenced the development of Driffield.⁶¹ Already in 1849 it was reported that, 'facilities of locomotion now enable sheep to go to the West Riding stock markets'.⁶² It further became possible to cater for the demands of the growing Victorian seaside holiday towns for agricultural produce. Towns such as Scarborough were already attracting the Conference and Exhibition trade thus, 'The Yorkshire Agricultural Exhibition in the beginning of August - will crowd Scarborough for a while'.⁶³ In respect of fresh milk railway facilities were as yet insufficient to maintain a steady trade from the interior to the urban markets. Where a twice daily delivery could be effected by horse and cart this was a possibility but otherwise the cows were located in the built up areas in sheds and barns. In 1851 about 60 cowkeepers in the town supplied the needs of Hull, and in Bridlington and Scarborough there were 17 to 20 with about 20 cowkeepers at Beverley. Elsewhere the emphasis was on butter-making and in the parish of Old Malton there were some 30 farms in 1840-41 selling butter.⁶⁴

Although sheep remained the staple livestock interest on the Wolds, the feeding and fattening of cattle became an expanding practice. At Everingham, Irish heifers were bought in for fattening and between 1845 and 1855 total cattle sold increased by 390 per

54. Legard op. cit. 101-2

55. Legard op. sit. 92

56. Harris op. cit. 109-110

57. University of Hull, Estate accounts DDEV/56/45 and 46

58. supra DDSY98/2

59. ibid. DDFA/37/13 and 15

I am grateful to the University of Hull Librarian for permission to study and analyse these estate papers.

60. Harris op. cit. 57

61. Best S.E.J. *East Yorkshire, a study in Agricultural Geography* (1930) 121

62. Legard op. cit. 124

63. Report in the *Scarborough Gazette* 29 May 1847

64. Harris A. 'The Milk Supply of East Yorkshire 1850-1950' *East Yorks Local History Society* No. 33 (1977) 10-11

cent.⁶⁵ At Escrick, Scotch bullocks were bought for fattening⁶⁶ as was the practice at Sowerby where Scotch oxen and heifers were fattened although this was in decline in 1855-6⁶⁷. Feeding was associated with the purchase of oil cake and this was readily available from Hull which by 1856 was the major centre of the industry with 100 hydraulic seed-crushing presses in operation out of a total of 150 for the whole of Britain.⁶⁸

In the North Riding cattle had long been a significant interest and the new Shorthorns were reported in the 1840s as, 'being spread by the excellent landlords, who, patronising breeding themselves by purchasing the stock of the first and foremost breeders, have allowed their tenants the free use of these superior animals'.⁶⁹ Milburn in 1848 said that these Shorthorns fattened up quickly and were often ready for the butcher at 12 - 18 months. He cited many important breeders, notably at Kirklevington, Harlsey, Killerby, Warlaby, Newham, Sheriff Hutton and Bransby.⁷⁰

THE EFFECTS OF POPULATION GROWTH

The protectionists failed or perhaps deliberately omitted to recognise the impact which population growth would have on the post-Repeal situation. For the East and North Ridings the markets opening up along their boundaries were of crucial importance in the development of both arable and livestock orientated farming. The expanding seaside holiday towns have been mentioned but of more significance were the urban industrial centres of the West Riding, the Don valley and of Tees-side. On Tee-side for example, the new town of Middlesbrough had already achieved a population of 7,600 by 1851. Industrial expansion was rapid, particularly following the discovery of Jurassic Ironstone at Eston and by 1855 there were 35 blast furnaces operating in the district producing 80,000 tons of pig iron.⁷¹ Obviously the market potential was considerable for farmers of the Ridings and nowhere was this more important than in Howdenshire, strategically located between the West Riding centres and those of the Don Valley.

As noted above, the fattening of cattle to supply the urban meat market was an established feature of farming in the North Riding, South Humberside and along the western edge of the East Riding. In Howdenshire, although stocking rates were not high, bullocks were winter fattened in the area around Goole and Selby while sheep were brought in for the same purpose.⁷² At Everingham Scotch sheep were brought in for fattening in 1845 and in 1855 sales were 75 per cent higher than in 1845, while cattle sales expanded by 390 per cent in the same period.⁷³ On Wolds farms sheep continued to provide the staple livestock outlet for the meat market. Although wheat was a marked feature of arable farming in Howdenshire with 207 acres per 1,000 of total area devoted to the crop in the Goole area and 159 acres around Selby, the most important cash crop for the urban market was potatoes. The sandy and silty clay loams were admirably suited to the crop and planting at the rate of 143 acres per 1,000 at Goole and 102 acres per 1,000 at Selby in 1854 was obviously focussed on the demand from the urban market.⁷⁴ Further north the same policy was to be observed at Escrick where in 1854 potato sales yielded as

65. University of Hull DDEV/56/45 and 46

66. supra DDFA/37/13 and 15

67. ibid. DDLG/43/6-7-8

68. Thompson F.M.L. 'The Second Agricultural Revolution 1815-1880' *Economic History Review* 2 series (1968) 67

69. Walton op. cit. 33-4

70. Milburn op. cit. 518

71. Smailes A.E. *North England* (1961) 171-9

72. Dodd op. cit. (1979) 125

73. University of Hull DDEV/56/45

74. Dodd op. cit. 125-129

much as corn.⁷⁵

While the expansion of population, coupled with a change of focus to meet the demand for food from the urban centres fringing the Ridings, tended to iron out the problems anticipated for the post-Repeal period, farmers were still not content with their lot. Conditions of tenure and compensation for unexpired improvements on vacating a farm were points of contention which persuaded the government to institute a Select Committee to enquire into Agricultural Customs in 1847-8. Although the intention was to expose the divisions between landowner and tenant farmer which particularly operated against the interests of the latter, the information forthcoming from the Evidence indicated that not all was well with the manner in which agriculture was practiced in the Ridings. Thus Legard in response to questions considered that some manuring of crops on the Wolds had benefitted from chalking, but in general crops suffered from a lack of chalking.⁷⁶ Edward Page of Beverley confirmed that the deep soils of the Wolds would benefit from chalking while this would improve the growth of turnips which were particularly prone to the damage characterised as 'fingers and toes'.⁷⁷ On Wolds farms there was no general practice of feeding cake to cattle, while not much attention was paid to converting straw to manure. It was not uncommon to find straw stacks still out in the fields twelve months after threshing.⁷⁸ Turnips were not much cultivated by Wolds farmers⁷⁹, and this in 1848 when most farms carried a sizable flock of sheep!

In Holderness the land was not drained as it ought to be and the same defect was observable on the land to the west of the Wolds.⁸⁰ The usual rotation was two white crops and a bare summer fallow although the land where drained can grow turnips or rape.⁸¹ In Holderness farms averaged 200 acres and in the last 40 years a great proportion of grass land had been ploughed over for tillage.⁸² Farms on the Wolds averaged 200 - 400 acres but even on large farms there was no use of steam power.⁸³

Farms were held on annual tenancies and chalking and marling were carried out by tenants at their own risk.⁸⁴ Landlords had the means to effect improvements but most did not, and no compensation was afforded to tenants for the use of artificials or for artificial manures nor for drainage and chalking.⁸⁵ If tenants had greater security they would improve lands and the East Riding could be greatly improved which would afford opportunity for much more employment.⁸⁶ On Wolds farms the incoming tenant paid for one quarter of the arable crop sown by the outgoing tenant while in Holderness and Howdenshire the proportion was one third.⁸⁷ What was required was compensation to the outgoing tenant for chalking, marling and draining, and also for fencing and unexhausted manures.⁸⁸

CONCLUSION

The 1848 Report indicated that tenants had legitimate causes for complaint, but these

- 75. University of Hull DDFA/37/15
- 76. B.P.P. *Minutes of Evidence of Select Committee on Agricultural Customs* (1848) Evidence for Yorkshire. Legard Questions 7594-7650
- 77. supra Evidence of Edward Page Questions 2564 2566-7
- 78. supra Questions 2569 2571
- 79. supra Questions 2579
- 80. supra Questions 2572 and 2582
- 81. supra Question 2773
- 82. supra Questions 2608 2606-7
- 83. supra Questions 2597 2596
- 84. supra Questions 2594 2602
- 85. supra Questions 2589 2561 2562
- 86. supra Questions 2591 2592
- 87. supra Questions 2555 2557
- 88. supra Questions 2622 2626

were general throughout England and Wales at this time. On the other hand there was much wrong with the manner in which farming was conducted and which could have been amended without fear of bankruptcy. A survey of 1861 showed that some improvements had taken place. From Hessle to Flamborough Head 'a marked improvement has taken place in regard to the waste of straw noted in 1848. Farmers have increased the number of cattle and the volume of manured straw in the fold yard. The quantity of linseed cake used throughout this district is at least doubled within the last few years. The scythe is being replaced by the reaping machine and extensive marling and liming has also been accomplished, - some farmers have tried mangel wurzels to overcome turnip disease. --- On the highlands of the North Riding draining is effected either by Landlord and Tenant jointly or by government loans, the tenant carting the materials and paying 7 per cent on the money expended. --- On the Vale of Cleveland there have been great advantages from deep draining during the last 10 years, landlords charge 6 per cent of the cost. There has been an increased growth of roots'.⁸⁹ However drainage in Howdenshire had shown no improvement while along the river Hull between Driffield and Beverley and along the Derwent the wet summer of 1860 caused great destruction.

As with other parts of England and Wales the tribulations of the farmer of 1848 were still prevalent in 1880. The Report on the State of Agriculture in Yorkshire noted excessive rents, high local taxes, the want of security for capital, restrictive and unnecessary covenants preventing the farmer allowing his practice to meet the altered circumstances of the times, and injury from excessive preservation of game while the depredations of hares and rabbits were still a problem.⁹⁰ Some landlords, as at Sowerby, recognised the difficulties of the times and had allowed a 10 per cent reduction in rents while others as in a notorious example on the Moors near Egton were driving farmers into bankruptcy. In short the wheel had swung full circle and what had been largely a propaganda exercise in 1803-4 when prices for grain were higher than at any time after, was in 1880 nearer a reality as assessed by an unbiased reporter.

89. Wright W. 'The Farming of Yorkshire' *Journal R.A.S.E.* 22 (1861) 95-103

90. E.P.P. *Report on the State of Agriculture* in Yorkshire. Report by John Coleman, assistant commissioner, 139-ff (1880)

THE GREENWELL CATALOGUE: ADDENDA

By I.A. Kinnes and I.H. Longworth

Since publication of the Greenwell Collection (Kinnes and Longworth 1985), further material from Rudston 66 has come to light in the Grantham Collection. The finds derive from a single cutting across the western ditch of Cursus A near its southern terminal on the Woldgate (Dymond 1966). The additional entries below follow the numbering and format of the published catalogue for ease of cross-reference.

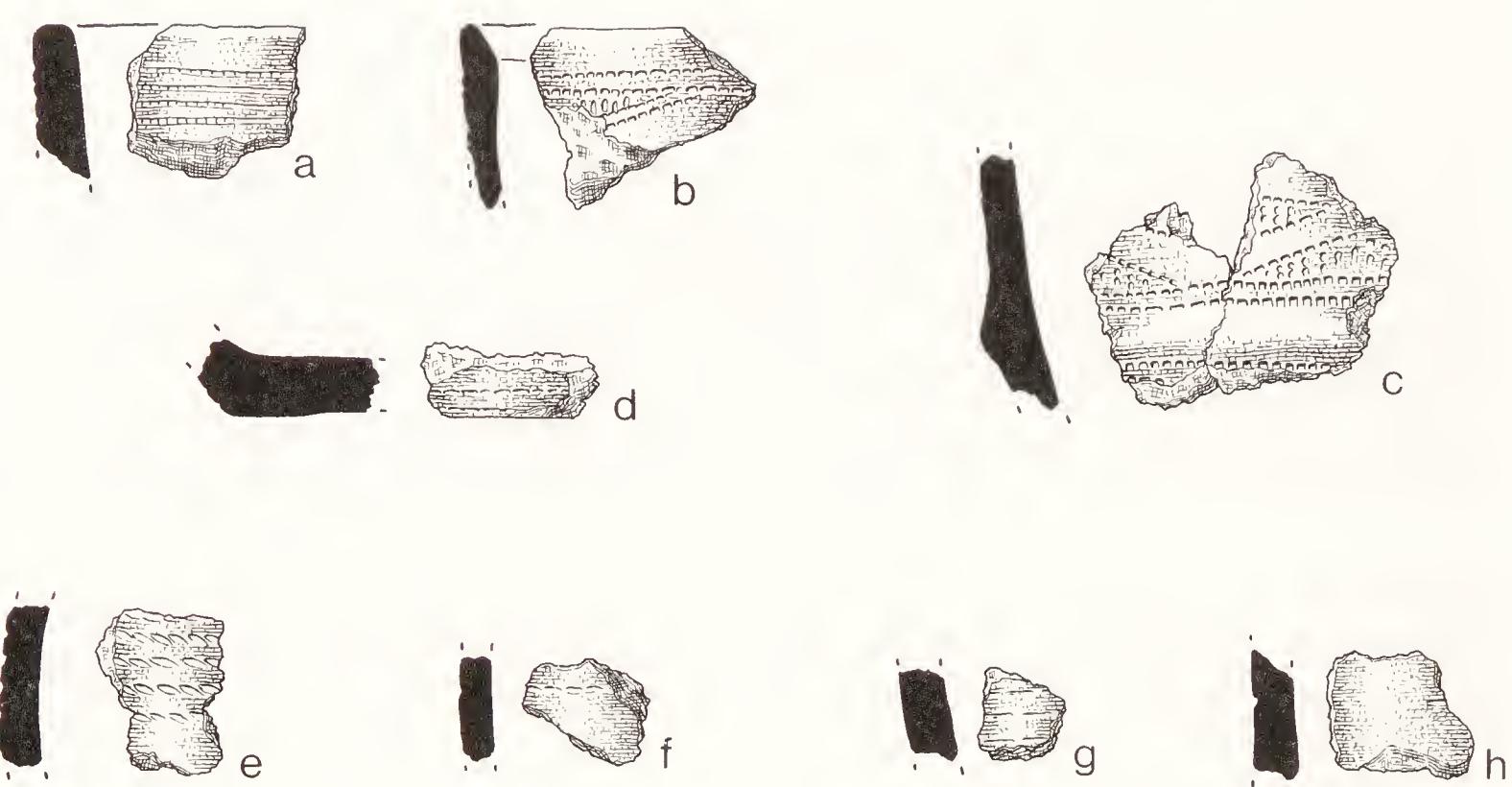
We are indebted to Peter Makey for the temporary loan of the relevant objects, to Eric Grantham for continued co-operation and to Philip Dean for the illustrations (Fig. 1).

References

Dymond, D. P., 1966 'Ritual monuments at Rudston, East Yorkshire, England', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 32, 86-95.
Kinnes, I. A. & Longworth, I. H., 1985 *Catalogue of the Excavated Prehistoric & Romano-British Material in the Greenwell Collection*, London.

29a	<i>Beaker rim-sherd</i> : beneath rim, four horizontal tooth-comb stamped lines	L9
29b	<i>Beaker rim-sherd</i> : beneath rim, two horizontal tooth-comb stamped lines with diagonal pair beneath, forming triangle infilled with vertical impressions.	L14
29c	<i>Beaker shoulder-sherds</i> : two conjoining; tooth-comb stamped: in neck, reserved net pattern outlined by single lines with lozenge and triangular spaces filled with vertical impressions; above and below shoulder, pairs of horizontal lines.	L13, L14
29d	<i>Beaker base-sherd</i> : two horizontal tooth-comb stamped (?) lines	L13
29e	<i>Beaker base-sherd</i> : four horizontal twisted cord lines.	L?
29f	<i>Beaker sherd</i> : horizontal twisted cord (?) line.	L5
29g	<i>Beaker sherd</i> : discontinuous horizontal strokes.	L?
29h	<i>Beaker sherd</i> : single horizontal stroke.	L15
35a	<i>Stone polished axe fragment</i> : greenstone; flake with remnants of polishing and flaking on dorsal; roughly re-worked bilaterally. L. 4.8cm; W. 2.2cm; Th. 0.5cm.	L3
35b	<i>Flint end-scraper</i> : edge retouch on distal at 65°; cortex remnant; mottled grey. L. 2.0cm; W. 1.6cm; Th. 0.6cm.	L5
35c	<i>Flint end-scraper</i> : edge retouch on distal at 70°; platform butt; cortex remnant; mottled grey. L. 4.9cm; W. 4.2cm; Th. 1.2cm.	L11
35d	<i>Flint worked flake</i> : irregular bilateral edge retouch converging on distal; mottled grey. L. 3.8cm; W. 2.2cm; Th. 0.3cm.	L3
35e	<i>Flint worked flake</i> : edge retouch on R. at 80°; broken; patinated. L. 5.7cm; W. 2.2cm; Th. 0.3cm.	L11
35f	<i>Flint worked flake</i> : edge retouch on R. at 65°; dihedral butt; cortex remnant; mottled grey. L. 4.5cm; W. 4.3cm; Th. 1.4cm.	L12
45g	<i>Flint worked flake</i> : edge retouch on R. at 80°; dihedral butt; cortex remnant; mottled grey. L. 5.3cm; W. 2.8cm; Th. 1.2cm.	L16
35h	<i>Flint worked fragment</i> : edge retouch at 70°; broken; cortex remnant; mottled grey. L. 2.6cm; W. 2.1cm; Th. 0.3cm.	L1
35i	<i>Flint worked fragment</i> : edge retouch at 65°; broken; cortex remnant; patinated. L. 1.7cm; W. 1.7cm; Th. 0.3cm.	L13
41a	<i>Flint utilised flake</i> : bilateral wear; patinated. L. 3.5cm; W. 1.3cm; Th. 0.4cm.	L4
41b	<i>Flint blade</i> : patinated. L. 3.8cm; W. 1.5cm; Th. 0.3cm.	L13

29 a-h



35 a-i

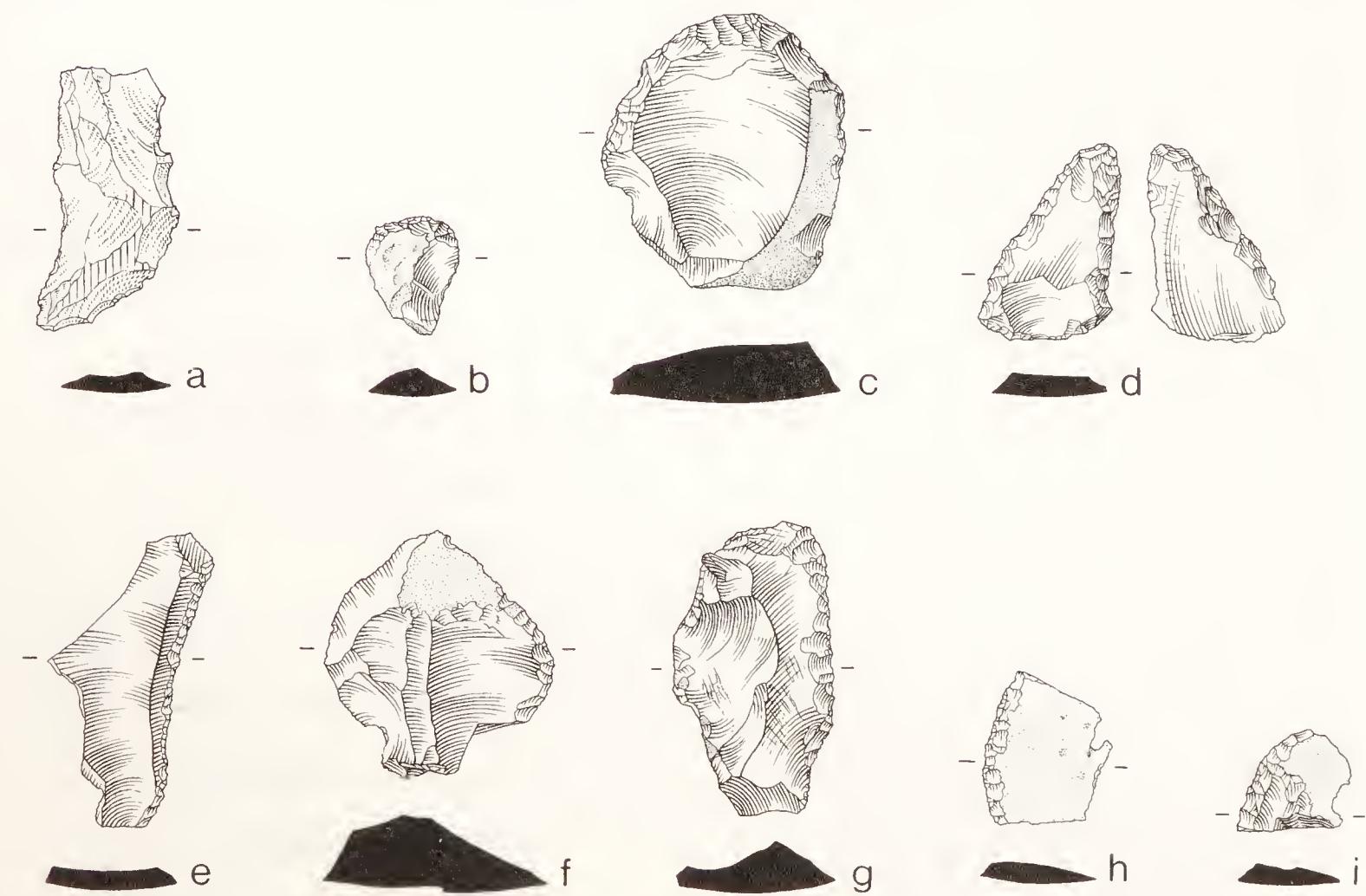


Fig. 1. Beaker sherds, axe fragment and worked flints from Rudston. Scale 1:2.

A BATTLE-AXE FROM APPLETON ROEBUCK

By Harold Mytum

A battle-axe was found by a driver of an earthmoving machine whilst cleaning out a ditch on Woolas Hall Farm in Appleton Roebuck (SE 564 422)¹. Relatively few prehistoric finds have been recovered from the Vale of York,² and this particularly fine specimen falls within a class of battle-axes well represented in Yorkshire, though not previously from the Vale.

The battle-axe (Fig. 1) is expanded at both ends, the butt being a shaped angular form³. Along each side of the artefact there is a moulded ridge which fades out towards each end. The centrally placed hole is circular, and has vertical sides. The sides of the hole and all faces of the battle-axe are polished smooth, although the probable underside has a slightly rougher feel. The object is in perfect condition apart from a small chip out of the cutting edge near the top of the blade. The battle-axe has been examined by Dr. Hornung⁴ who writes 'the axe appears to be made from a fine grained dolerite, very similar in general texture to the so-called 'Tholecite dikes' of Northumberland and Durham. The specific gravity of c. 2.95 also confirms this'. It would have taken considerable effort to shape this hard rock and then polish into its present fine state. It may be related to the quartz dolerite Group XVIII axes from the Whin Sill area. Several other battle-axes from Yorkshire are of this rock type⁵.

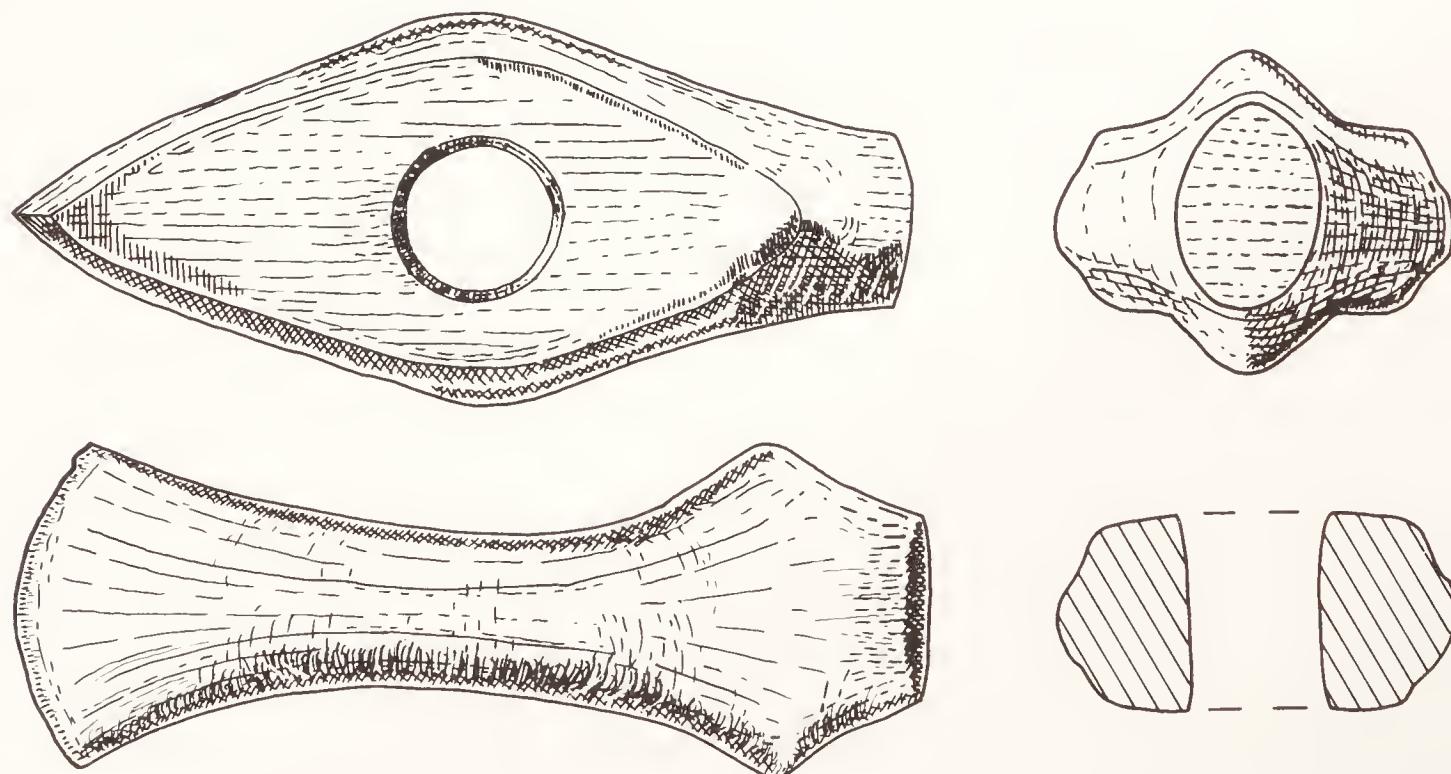


Fig. 1 Battle-axe from Woolas Hall Farm, Appleton Roebuck. Scale 1:2.

1. Mr Snowden of Woolas Hall Farm has retained the find, and I am grateful to him for allowing it to be published. The axe was kindly drawn to the attention of the writer by Mr. Richard Cross. The drawings have been prepared by Helen Grundy.
2. J. Radley, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 46, 1974, 10-22.
3. F.E.S. Roe, 'The Battle-Axe Series in Britain'. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 32, 1966, 204.
4. Department of Earth Sciences, University of Leeds. The author is most grateful for his help in identification.
5. Roe, 1966, 245.

In order that the numerous battle-axes found in Britain could be typologically ordered, Roe has developed a series of measurements for each specimen. These are listed here for the Appleton Roebuck find in millimetres: L 144; B 48; D 25; H 34; D1 48; L1 67; L2 107. The axe has a weight of 385 gm. As it has the shaped angular butt form and the Li/L ratio is greater than 0.725 (0.743), it can be seen to fit into Roe's southern variant of the Loose Howe group. With a D1/D ratio of over 1.9 (1.92) it belongs to Stage V, and so is typologically late in the sequence.

The Appleton Roebuck battle-axe is extremely similar to one found with a secondary burial in Loose Howe and which gave its name to this class of axe⁶. The Loose Howe example is slightly more elongated in shape, and has more pronounced moulding along the side. It was found in the barrow in a secondary cremated interment, associated with a Collared Urn, Pygmy Cup, Camerton Dagger and a Trefoil Headed pin⁷. These objects belong to the second phase of the Wessex culture and this might indicate a date somewhere around 1250 b.c on the basis of the few carbon 14 dates available for such material⁸.

Whilst many of the Yorkshire finds have in the past come from burials, others appear to have been isolated losses. Unless cropmark or other evidence comes to light to suggest the presence of ring-ditches indicating ploughed out barrows around Woolas Hall Farm, it is likely that the Appleton Roebuck find represents an isolated loss. The importance of the find lies in its location in the Vale, acting as a reminder of Early Bronze Age use of the area. It also is a significant addition to a small group of fine Loose Howe type battle-axes from Yorkshire and indeed the country.

6. H.E. Elgee and E. Elgee, 'An Early Bronze Age Burial in a Boat-shaped Wooden Coffin from North-east Yorkshire'. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 15, 1949, 87-106. See Fig. 8 for illustration.
7. Ibid., 97-101; Roe, 1966, 221.
8. I.F. Smith, 'The chronology of British stone implements' in T.H. McK. Clough and W.A. Cummins (eds.) *Stone axe studies*, Council for British Archaeology Research Report 23, 1979, 13-22, especially p. 16.

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY DESIGNS FOR STAINBROUGH HALL

By John Miller

It is not often that one is able to compare an important seventeenth-century house, which has survived largely unaltered, with a set of drawings prepared for its erection. At Wentworth Castle, Stainborough, South Yorkshire, it appears that this may be possible. The house is not, of course, the huge eighteenth-century mansion which dominates Worsbrough Dale, but the much smaller Stainbrough Hall,¹ around which the larger house was built and which still forms its heart and core. The drawings are a set, now held by the Institute of British Studies at Yale and published by John Harris in his recent book.² If allowance is made for a number of alterations which have been made to Stainbrough Hall since its erection for Gervase Cutler in 1670-72, the plans correspond exactly with the building.

Stainbrough Hall was a double-pile house, seven bays wide and two main storeys high, raised above the ground on a basement which contained the domestic offices, and with a second floor, partly in the roof and lit by semi-dormers. These dormers have been absorbed or engulfed by a raising of the front and back walls and a remodelling of the roof, which took place in 1790, a date on the raking coping of the parapet. The present flattish lead roof is supported on the main timber structure of the earlier roof. The slopes which flanked the dormers can still be traced in the second-floor rooms. Apart from this alteration, the facades are exactly as shown on the drawings, although on the first and second floors double hung sash windows have been substituted for the original cross windows, while the north facade has lost its original cornice and the balcony over the main entrance porch has lost its balustrade. The south facade, the 'Back Front' of the drawings, visible in the narrow internal courtyard between the early house and the south wing, has retained its cornice.

Internally the plan of Stainbrough Hall is unusual. Although both facades are symmetrical and a main axis runs through the great hall and into the lowest flight of the splendid staircase, both the hall and the staircase lie mainly to the right of this axis. Beyond the hall in the westernmost bay there are service rooms from which a service stair descends into the kitchens. These are still in use, but now serve the ground floor of the east wing. The seventeenth-century hall has now been divided up and is used as offices. The parlours are to the left and in the north-east corner there is a secondary stair, which was rebuilt in the nineteenth century and the staircase enlarged. A similar arrangement occurs on the first floor, with the great chamber directly over the hall, but on the west side a gallery, details of which can still be traced, ran right across the west front above the service rooms.

This idiosyncratic plan is seen equally clearly in the drawings and in the house itself, except that in the latter case one must imagine away the later alterations. These were made first to accommodate the east wing of 1716-30; some of the windows blocked by this addition survive as cupboards, all in the exact position shown on the plans. The link to the south wing of c. 1760 across the narrow internal courtyard required a new doorway in the

1. The spelling 'Stainbrough' is used in eighteenth-century documents, but, 'Stainborough' appears on the Queen Anne obelisk at the Rockley Lane entrance.
2. J. Harris, *The Design of the English Country House* (London 1985), pp. 90-91.

main staircase under the quarter-pace landing of the stair. The west wing was completed in the early nineteenth century, reducing the gallery to a narrow corridor, and most of the principal rooms were more recently subdivided for college purposes.

This discovery that the Yale drawings relate to Stainbrough Hall is particularly interesting, because it is only about twenty years ago that it was realized that drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum were in fact designs prepared in Berlin by Jean de Bodt for the east wing.³ This was built by Thomas Wentworth, Viscount Raby, later the first Earl of Strafford of the second creation, and then British Ambassador in Berlin, who bought the house from the Cutlers in 1708.⁴

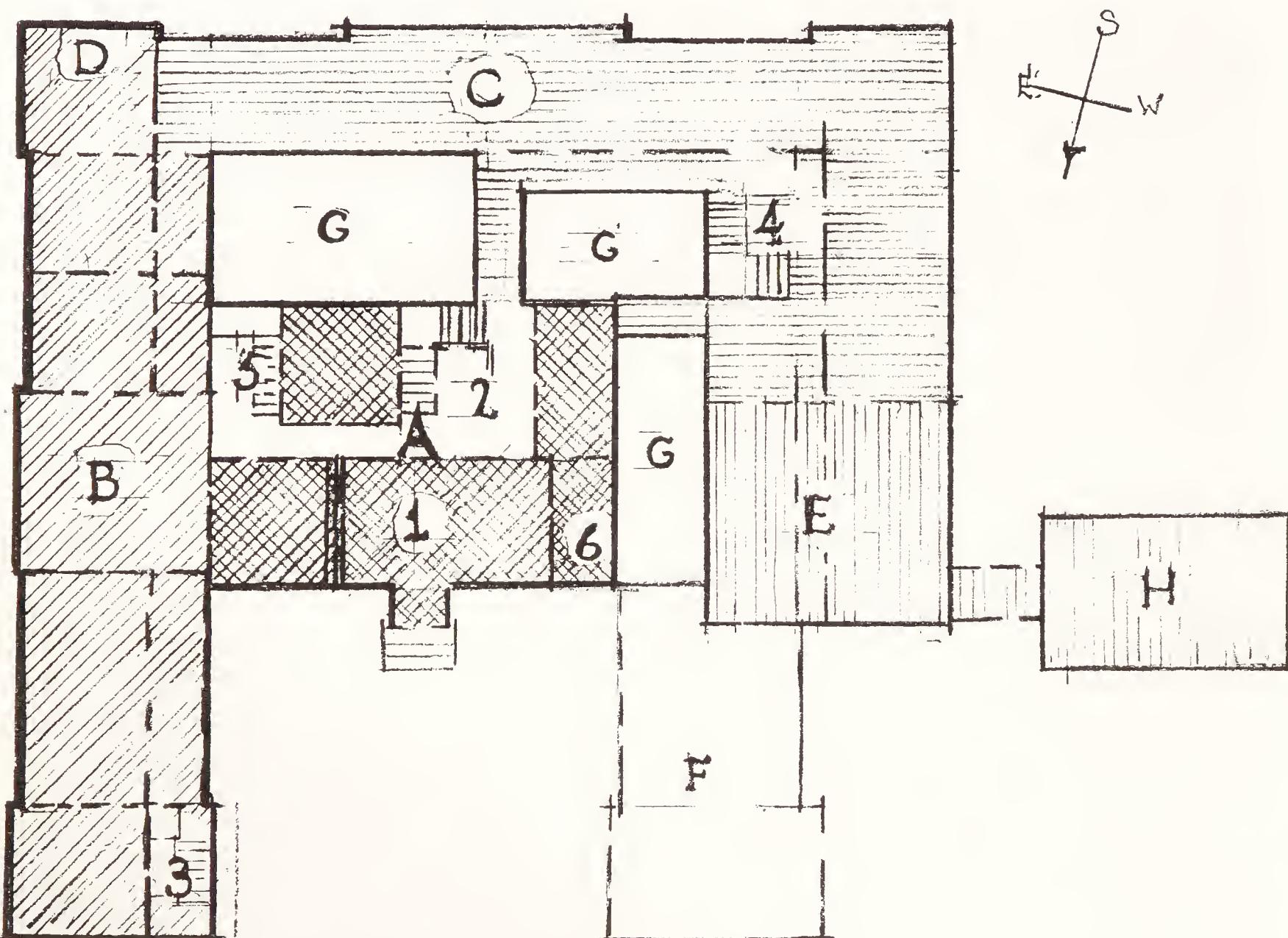


Fig. 1. Wentworth Castle, Stainbrough. *Diagram of Development.*

A. Stainbrough Hall 1670-72 - Gervase Cutler	1. Hall
B. East Wing 1710-30 Thomas Wentworth, Lord Raby, later Earl of Strafford. Arch. Jean de Bodt.	2. Main Stair 1672
C. South Wing <i>circa</i> 1760 William Wentworth, 2nd Earl of Strafford. Arch. Charles Ross.	3. "Italian" Stair
D. Refaced <i>c1</i> 1760.	4. Georgian Stair
E. Addition of <i>circa</i> 1830.	5. Stair re-modelled in 19th century.
F. Planned but not built.	6. Stair from Servery to Kitchen in Basement (1672).
G. Internal Courtyards.	
H. Conservatory.	

3. J. Harris, 'Bodt and Stainborough', *Architectural Review* 130 (1961), pp. 34-5. For Bodt, see H. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840* (London 1978), pp. 120-21.

4. For Wentworth Castle, see also J. Harris, *Archaeol. J.* 125 (1968), pp. 322, 324-5; and A. Riches, *Archaeol. J.* 137 (1980), pp. 447-8.

FRANK THORP - An appreciation

It is with regret that we announce the resignation of Frank Thorp from the Aerial Archaeology Committee and as curator of the Society's Collection of Aerial Photographs. He first became involved with the aerial photograph collection some 15 years ago and soon became solely responsible for its organisation. During his curatorship, thanks to his steady and persistent efforts, the collection has grown steadily and has been transformed from a random assortment of prints into a systematically collated, indexed, mounted and filed archive of some 5000 photographs, which must rank as one of the most important collections in the north of England.

Frank Thorp's earliest involvement with matters aeronautical was in early 1918 when at the age of 17 he joined the Royal Naval Air Service. Flying originally in airships, he was subsequently transferred to land-based aircraft, notably the BE2C, and later to flying boats, piloting F2A's and F3's. He recalls seeing peculiar ground markings in Lincolnshire in this period which, he realised some fifty years later, may have been cropmarks.

His interest in archaeology began in the early '60's when he was looking for something to occupy him both mentally and physically in retirement. He attended evening classes in archaeology and spent a number of seasons assisting in the excavations at Wharram Percy. From 1973 to 1975 he was responsible for the compilation of the Yorkshire Archaeological Register. Having relinquished curatorship of the aerial photo collection, Frank is spending most of his time pursuing investigations into the effects of natural ionising radiation on the growth patterns of biological samples.

The Society is greatly indebted to Frank Thorp for his active involvement with its activities for nearly thirty years and in particular for his invaluable contribution in organising and maintaining the Aerial Photograph Collection. We wish him well in this 'second retirement'.

The Aerial Photograph Collection is available for consultation on application to the Librarian at Claremont. The new curator of the Collection is Jim Pocock who will be happy to deal with enquiries and to receive material for inclusion in the Collection. He may be contacted on Bradford 733466 ext. 540 during normal working hours or on Bradford 587784, evenings and weekends.

THE YORKSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL REGISTER: 1987

This is based on fuller reports in *CBA Forum* 1987, edited by Philip Abramson and kindly supplied by him, with some additions from other sources.

ASKWITH, WHIN HILL FARM (SE 163500) Angela Cartledge of the Manor House Museum, Ilkley, reports that a polished flint axe was found in the farmhouse garden by F. Chapman and is at present on loan to the Museum.

ESTON, ESTON NAB (NZ 567182) Cleveland County Archaeology Section continued the investigation and recording of later prehistoric settlement and land-use on the Eston Hills. Excavation at Eston Nab Hillfort recovered details of the original course of the timber palisade and of the entrance arrangements. Evidence for a second, earlier palisade was also uncovered. Excavation of the hillfort has now been completed.

ILKLEY, BACKSTONE BECK (SE 137457) Gavin Edwards reports that Upland Archaeology, a team of workers supported by Bradford Metropolitan council in association with the Manpower Services Commission, has been excavating a Bronze Age enclosure on Green Crag Slack. To date, 3,500 pieces of flint, 120 sherds of pottery, part of a shale bracelet, and a shale/lignite fragment have been found. One feature produced sufficient carbon to give a date of 770 ± 100 b.c., but no stratigraphic relationship can be made from this to other features, so that additional C14 dates must be obtained before conclusions can be drawn.

KIRKBURN (SE 984574) Two sites in the same field were excavated by I.M. Stead for the British Museum. The largest of four plough-flattened barrows, 12m by 12.5m, had a huge central grave 5.2m long, up to 3.7m wide, and 1.25m deep. This contained a cart burial, with the skeleton resting on the remains of two dismantled wheels and surrounded by harness and vehicle fittings. On top of the skeleton was a coat of iron chain mail, the most complete example from Celtic Europe and the earliest from Britain. A second square barrow had the skeletons of a woman and a child in a large grave, and two smaller circular barrows had central burials, one with a fine sword in a decorated scabbard.

The second area exposed two overlapping enclosures - a large oval 47m long by perhaps 42m wide, and a 17m square. The oval enclosure was Neolithic and had a central crouched burial without grave goods but with additional arm bones at its feet. Iron Age sherds were found in the ditch of the square enclosure, but there were no features inside. Outside the square and within the oval were two graves, each surrounded by the trace of a ring-ditch 4-5m in diameter and each containing the skeleton of a horse. Outside the oval was a flattened Neolithic barrow, 11m in diameter, whose central pit lacked the remains of a burial.

NORTON, SUTTON COMMON (SE 564121) Bob Sykes and Jim Symonds of the South Yorkshire Archaeology Unit investigated the western of two enclosures previously excavated by C.E. Whiting, in order to assess the effects of drainage. The base of the shallow inner ditch contained a 'framework' of interlaced poles, showing evidence for coppicing. The remains of a hurdle construction, fragments of a possible wooden bowl, and large quantities of carbonised grain were also found. The outer ditch revealed a 'raft' including several reused timbers. On higher ground to the north concentrations of struck flints were found. A line of paired stakes protruding from a dyke side to the north-west may be remains of a trackway linking areas of high ground. The dating of this enclosure awaits the results of Carbon 14 analysis, but a middle to late Bronze Age date would seem appropriate. The common, a peat-filled depression, is rapidly drying out, and intensive fieldwork needs to be carried out over the next few years.

RASTRICK, STRANGSTRY WOOD (SE 127215) J.A. Gilks reports the discovery of a small leaf-shaped flint arrowhead and, at SE 128217, of two flint flakes, probably of Mesolithic date. These have been presented to the Tolson Memorial Museum.

SEAMER, FLIXTON HILL (TA 035810) T. Schadla-Hall reports that a section opened west of J.W. Moore's 1947 trench produced over 3000 pieces of worked flint and confirmed Moore's stratigraphy. A pit, apparently contemporary with the occupation, and two slight hollows were uncovered. Finds of bone were in poor condition, contrasting with the well-preserved bones excavated by Moore from a semi-waterlogged conditions. Due to improved drainage, the site has dried out considerably in recent years. Other sections in the area of Carr House Farm and Star Carr Farm showed that the peat had suffered from exceptional drying out. The excavations, under the auspices of the Vale of Pickering Research Trust, were supported by several organizations, including North Yorkshire County Council.

WHARRAM, WHARRAM PERCY (SE 858645) The 38th season saw the usual range of multi-period excavations. Near North Manor two trenches sectioned substantial ditches infilled in the late Iron Age and later Roman period. These sections were cut to examine key areas of the prehistoric and Roman ditch complex below the medieval village.

ROMANO-BRITISH

ALDBOROUGH (SE 405663) Geophysical survey by M. Gillings of the School of Archaeological Sciences, University of Bradford, has shown the outline of the street system in the south-west part of the town. It has also revealed traces of intensive building activity, including a possible Romano-Celtic temple.

CASTLEFORD A.B. Sumpter and L. Mills report that rescue excavations were carried out by the West Yorkshire Archaeology Service in advance of redevelopment and roadbuilding.

HOPE STREET/POWELL STREET (SE 42692556) Excavation 100m south of the presumed south gate of the Flavian fort and 70m east of the main Roman road encountered no structural remains, suggesting that the *vicus* only consisted of narrow ribbon development along the road.

WELBECK STREET (SE 426255) A partial section through the main Roman road on the site of Station Cottages revealed a thickness of 1m, comprising at least four phases, in the latest of which a stone-lined and stone-capped culvert was replaced by gritstone gutter slabs. The earliest feature identified was a V-shaped east-west boundary ditch 1m deep with a butt-end near the road. To the south small ovens of clay and stone were successively rebuilt, their debris being ultimately deposited in the ditch. A timber building at least 11m long and about 6m wide was erected across the area, gable-end onto the road. Its demolition was followed by the construction of an agger for an east-west road, cambered and metalled with sandstone rubble and river gravel. Artifacts ranged in date from Flavian to early Antonine.

Near the Station Hotel the corner of a building with Magnesian limestone foundations was located; a profusion of nails indicated a timber superstructure. A metalled yard contained a possible well. Finds dated from Flavian to early Antonine, with third and fourth-century pottery only occurring in the topsoil. The removal of a former railway goods platform revealed signs of timber and stone buildings, whose investigation continues.

CATTERICK, PULLETT HILL QUARRY (SE 23559780) Peter Cardwell reports that excavation by North Yorkshire County Council of a triangular area between Manor House Farm and the Catterick Bypass revealed an east-west ditch, apparently associated with an oven and two possible hearths, while other pits and hearths were adjacent. A resistivity survey by the West Yorkshire Archaeology Service of the eastern half of the site indicated a number of linear features and anomalies, as well as the main Roman road. Detailed examination of the area and of the 120m length of Dere Street which bisects it will be undertaken in 1988 by the Central Excavation Unit.

CAWTHORNE, CAWTHORN CAMPS (SE 785900) Magnetometer survey of Camp D by A. Aspinall and R.F.J. Jones of the School of Archaeological Sciences, Bradford University, has revealed traces of internal structures.

ELSLACK, ELSLACK FORT (SD 924494) Geophysical survey by A. Boucher of the School of Archaeological Sciences, Bradford, revealed a building of the back of the eastern fort wall, approximately 16m by 8m. The fort interior showed little evidence of substantial structures.

HOLME UPON SPALDING MOOR, BURSEA HOUSE (SE 813337) Peter Halkon reports the discovery of numerous potsherds, some of which, associated with iron slag, were of wheel-thrown Belgic types similar to those found at Dragonby. A geophysical survey by J. Pocock of Bradford University located ditches; a small excavation revealed much fourth-century Huntcliff and Crambeck ware in disturbed soil above a sequence of hearths. A substantial ditch contained Iron Age pottery under a layer of cobbles and more of the Dragonby type vessels were found in a shallow gully.

MICKLEFIELD, ROMAN RIDGE (SE 42953120) A Roman road surface, metalled with river gravel, was observed by G. Morley during drainage work. On this stretch the agger is approximately 1.2m high.

NABURN, LINGCROFT FARM (SE 618460) An extensive complex of settlements and fields, revealed by aerial photography, has been investigated under the direction of R.F.J. Jones of Bradford University. The main system seems to have been laid out in the late Iron Age. Substantial round houses, c. 15m in diameter, were demolished and the ditches of their associated enclosures deliberately filled before Roman pottery reached the sites. One occupation area seems to have continued in use into the Roman period.

PONTEFRACT, APPLE TREE CLOSE (SE 448206) Robin Turner of the West Yorkshire Archaeology Service reports the excavation of a site where cropmarks observed by D.N. Riley in 1976 showed a sub-

rectangular enclosure with a D-shaped one adjoining to the south-east. The latter, with ditches over 1m deep and up to 2m wide, proved to be the earlier. The larger enclosure was initially defined by a palisade with an entrance 4m wide to the east, retained when the palisade was replaced by a shallow ditch, frequently recut. The enclosure seems to have begun in the third century and continued into the fourth century. In the interior were concentrations of ovens, perhaps for processing grain, post-holes and pits. Pottery found included decorated samian ware, colour-coated wares, mortaria and amphorae sherds, as well as coarse ware of local origin. At least nine hobnailed boots were found, apparently casual losses, but little metalwork other than a penannular brooch and some iron. The D-shaped enclosure, probably early Roman in date, may have originally been used to contain stock but was later used for processing crops, perhaps as an appendage to a nearby farm.

THORPE AUDLIN (SE 474166) The Pontefract and District Archaeological Society under the direction of E. Houlder sectioned a ditch of a quadrilateral enclosure originally noted on an aerial photograph. The ditch was 10m wide and 2m deep, cut through two smaller ditches and a paved area. Its primary silting contained roof tiles, hypocaust box-tiles, quern fragments and Dales Ware. It appears to be a massive boundary ditch cut after the abandonment of a Roman building, as yet unlocated but probably to the north. Field walking has revealed *tegulae* and *imbrices*, box-tiles, quern fragments, samian and black-burnished ware sherds. Previous work to the east of the A639 recorded road Margary 28b and features interpreted as kilns.

YORK, APPLETREE FARM (SE 63255295) Ian Lawton reports that fieldwork followed by excavation has recovered the remains of a kiln and stokehole, tentatively dated to the second century, partly truncated by a large linear ditch of later date, and containing Knapton Ware in its upper fills. No positive indication of the kiln's products was recovered, but the excavation produced two waster sherds of mortaria with the stamps of AGRIIPP and possibly of VITALIS. Fieldwalking has shown that the site had produced a range of second-century Eboracum Ware dissimilar in fabric from the Borthwick Institute material, and a range of mortaria attributed at least to the above named potters. The ditch may be associated with the nearby Roman road from York to Malton or be contemporary with the site as a production complex. Further work on the site will include a magnetometer survey.

YORK, 16 PARLIAMENT STREET (SE 60345184) P. J. Ottaway of the York Archaeological Trust reports that removal of a basement floor revealed the legionary fortress wall and rampart standing over 2m high. Four trenches across the rampart exposed layers of decayed turf and clay. The plinth of the wall was stepped, similar to that recorded in a nearby sewer trench in 1976. Above the plinth were about 2m of Anglo-Scandinavian deposits and the remains of post and wattle buildings. Some robbing of the wall facing had also taken place in this period.

YORK, LEEDHAM'S GARAGE (SE 60005185) P. J. Ottaway reports that trial trenches and the contractor's boreholes revealed at the south-east end of the site the road running through the *colonia* from the south-west. Organic deposits of the second century were overlain by late Roman building remains. A massive clay and cobble footing suggested the existence of a fourth-century riverside wall. Post-Roman occupation took the form of pits of tenth to fourteenth-century date.

ROMAN ROAD ALIGNMENTS

RIBCHESTER TO ILKLEY (Margary 72a) D Haigh reports that fieldwork, followed by excavation, by the Bradford Grammar School Archaeological Society took place between Marchup Beck, Addingham (SE 067497) and Hollin Hall, Ilkley (SE 101479) in advance of the projected construction of the Addingham bypass. Many of the features of Percival Ross's description of the Roman Road (*Bradford Antiquary* 6 (1921), pp. 33-66) were still traceable. Three good lengths of agger were noted, centred at SE 07254938, 07434929 and 07704910 respectively. As the bypass was to cut the first of these, excavation took place there. Beneath much loose stone and disappearing below the adjacent field wall was a sandy clay platform some 1.5m long and covering the fall 2m width of the section, in which remained scanty traces of cobbles. Beneath this on natural clay was a circular burnt feature 1m in diameter which, when half sectioned, produced only burnt clay.

The platform and cobbles are considered to be the tail of an eroded agger, of which the major part is perhaps under the wall and the surface of the adjacent field. The burnt feature suggests a deliberate removal of burnt debris. It may be either (a) without any relationship to the roadworks; (b) due to the burning and removal of cleared vegetation by the road builders; or (c) the remains of a sighting beacon used to lay out the road course. On the column of Marcus Aurelius in Rome there is shown a circular pile of logs standing ready for kindling as a beacon.

ILKLEY TO ALDBOROUGH (Margary 720b) The position of the Roman crossing of the Wharfe has been discovered following fieldwork and map study by Bradford School Archaeological Society. Sheet 169 of the 6in. OS map of 1853 marks a piece of agger some 105m downstream of Ilkley Old Bridge. When this map's last known Roman road remains, indicated at 1.6km north of the river, are projected south, they meet precisely this piece of

agger. Clear traces of this feature still exist at SE 11334812, 26m long, 6.5m wide, and up to 0.25m high. It is mostly certainly what is left of the approach ramp to a bridge. Investigation continues.

Full report on both sites in *Y.A.S. Roman Antiquities Section bulletin* no. 5 (1987-8), pp. 22-28.

ANGLO-SCANDINAVIAN

RIPON, AILCY HILL (SE 31717114) Exploratory excavation of this motte-like Scheduled Ancient Monument, c. 200m east of Ripon Cathedral, was undertaken by York Archaeological Trust under the direction of Dr R.A. Hall, financed by Alltons of Ripon and with the permission and the support of the site owners, the Dean and Chapter of Ripon. Excavation of six small areas at the Hill's summit, flanks and base demonstrated that it is essentially a natural feature, used for some time as an inhumation cemetery. The skeletons mostly lie east-west: two groups on slightly different alignments have been recognized. The only objects recovered in association were iron nails and chest/coffin fittings thought to date somewhere within the Anglian or Anglo-Scandinavian periods. See also *Interim* 11.4(1986), pp. 29-37; 12.3, (1987) pp. 15-22.

YORK, ABC CINEMA, PICCADILLY (SE 605516) Four Trial holes excavated by the York Archaeological Trust uncovered evidence for wicker fencing and terracing, probably of eleventh-century date, near a clay bank sloping generally towards the Foss. Water-laid deposits were encountered in the former river bed. Small finds included two fine Anglian bone combs with ring and dot decoration, Anglo-Scandinavian pottery, a Viking axe head, and two bone skates. A touchstone pendant with streaks of gold adhering to it was also found. Evidence for glass manufacture and metalworking was found at the north end of the site, while antler, bone and leather off-cuts suggested other industrial activity. See also *Interim* 12.3 (1987), pp.3-8.

WHARRAM, WHARRAM PERCY (SE 858645) Excavation in Toft 10 reached the top of mid-Saxon levels, to be examined in 1988. Finds included a Borre-style strap-end of c. 900, one of the few objects to indicate Scandinavian influence in the area.

MEDIEVAL

BEESTON, STANK HALL (SE 284293) Limited excavation, supervised by Helen Wheldrake for the West Yorkshire Archaeology Service, was carried out in advance of the restoration of a late medieval barn. A metalled trackway entering its western doorway had apparently been in continuous use from the time of the building's construction.

BEVERLEY, DOMINICAN FRIARY (TA 03883936) The massive building excavated to the south of the cloister (*Y.A.J.* 59, p. 197) is now thought to be the refectory. The widest part of the chalk footings marks the position of the pulpit for readings during meals.

BROTTON, KILTON (NZ 701181) Cleveland County Archaeology Section excavated a house platform site as part of a comprehensive survey programme covering the townships of Kilton and Kilton Thorpe. Excavation indicated a substantial man-made platform of fourteenth-century date with little evidence of occupation.

EAST WITTON, JERVAULX ABBEY (SE 172857) Conservation work, monitored by the York Archaeological Trust, has concentrated on the Abbot's Lodging, and masonry has been consolidated in various parts of the ruins. Detailed recording is being carried out by the Trust in conjunction with the Photogrammetric Unit, University of York.

FEATHERSTONE, OLD SNYDALE HALL (SE 403209) Peter Thornborrow of the West Yorkshire Archaeology Service reports the discovery of a late medieval open hall of at least two bays, now with an inserted floor; it is single-aisled and two frames support a complete crown-post roof. At right angles to the hall at its west end is a two-storey, two-cell, cross-wing with a coupled rafter roof, enclosing a heavily timbered canted ceiling to the first-floor chambers. This suggests a house of high status, possibly a grange of Kirkstall Abbey. To the south-east are a range of fish ponds, possibly of medieval origin.

HAREWOOD, GAWTHORPE HALL (SE 312444) Aerial photographs of 1984 and subsequent field survey have revealed the site of the hall and its gardens, levelled after 1775 when Harewood House to the north had been completed to replace it. Earthworks of the medieval settlement of Gawthorpe were also noted to the west in the area of Gawthorpe Mill.

HAREWOOD, GREYSTONE PASTURE (SE 315430) S. Moorhouse reports that fieldwork has identified a series of terraced fields on a steep slope, their lower edges revetted by boulders. The Greystone is set within the earthworks, suggesting that it is contemporary with or later than enclosures defined by spread banks, possibly

boulder-reveted. At SE 318432 is a series of earthworks and terraced platforms set within a long, narrow, banked enclosure, suggesting a medieval pastoral complex. In the valley bottom, parallel to and south of the carriageway from Lofthouse Gate, is part of a hollow way connecting the deserted medieval village of Lofthouse with the parish church.

HAREWOOD, HAREWOOD CASTLE (SE 321457) Fieldwork in woodland surrounding the ruined castle suggests that substantial parts of its precinct may survive. These include a fishpond at SE 32154576, cut on the east by the A61, a terrace way leading from the main entrance of the castle and terminating in a rectangular earthwork, and a possible pond or building to the east of the A61. Surviving earthworks suggest that the manorial enclosures around the castle extended to the east of the modern road. Descriptions of the site in 1790 and 1819 show that parts of stone buildings then surrounded the castle, built after 1367, last occupied in the 1630s and ruinous by 1652.

HOLME UPON SPALDING MOOR, CHAPEL FARM Peter Halkon reports that after quantities of pottery wasters in Humber Ware tradition were found, a small excavation by members of the East Riding Archaeological Society revealed more wasters, kiln debris and burnt material piled up into a bank 10m long, indicating a kiln nearby. Pounds and a watercourse in the next field may have been part of the industrial complex.

SELBY ROAD P. Halkon reports that a kiln site was found during the building of a new house. Complete vessels, later damaged, were found in the footing trenches, much pottery was recovered and sections of the kiln were drawn by members of the Shiptonthorpe excavation team.

HUDDERSFIELD, HILL HOUSE (SE 14251802) Almost a third of the motte was dug away, revealing its make-up and a wide rock-cut ditch. No artifacts were found. A watching brief was maintained by J.A. Gilks for the Tolson Memorial Museum.

KNARESBOROUGH, THE CASTLE (SE 348569) Mary Kershaw reports that during restoration work on the Keep a gateway was uncovered and recorded. It was 1.8m across with a central portcullis separating two sets of double doors, providing access to the 'King's Chamber' on the first floor from an antechamber leading to the outer ward. A geophysical survey of the outer ward suggested a possible line for the curtain wall and the position of the gateway to the inner ward.

LEEDS, KIRKSTALL ABBEY (SE 260361) S. Moorhouse and M. Lawler report that excavation of the Guest House continued. The area to the west of the main hall contained remains of fourteenth-century outbuildings around a small yard. That to the south was timber-framed, apparently with an open north side. Floor deposits included a farthing of Edward I and a pendant with the badge of the Monthermer family. Quantities of redeposited glass manufacturing debris in an area north of the west hall included slag, frit and crucible sherds. Earthwork and geophysical survey work within the precinct continues, and a survey has been completed of the elevations of the Lay Brothers' Reredorter, in preparation for an excavation of the interior before its refurbishment as an interpretation centre.

MALHAM, BROAD SCARS (SD 905647) A detailed survey of the main part of the site of Bolton Priory Bercary has been carried out by S. Moorhouse, Mrs H.E.J. Le Patourel, and M. Long. Fieldwork suggests that the complex is the core of a much larger group of enclosures adapted from earlier, probably prehistoric, ones. The site, one of a number of well documented monastic ranches in the area, has turned out to be far more complicated than previously thought.

NEW MILL, SNOWGATE HEAD (SE 178087) A detailed photographic survey of the cruck barn recorded by J. Watson has been made by J.A. Gilks. Conversion into a house has removed all the internal features and the whole of the roof, though three pairs of crucks have been retained.

PONTEFRACT, BOX LANE (SE 46302273) Excavation by the West Yorkshire Archaeology Service in advance of housing development on the site of a nineteenth-century malthouse revealed an extensive cemetery superimposed on an earlier ditch system. One small area revealed over 70 burials, mainly of adults, aligned east-west without grave goods, though a bronze cruciform earring was found beneath one skull. Over 300 burials had been found in 1873 during the building of the malthouse. A re-cut ditch on the north was dated in its first phase to the eleventh/twelfth century by decorated Stamford ware. This may be the boundary of the Cluniac priory precinct with a possible entrance through the cemetery, which was probably associated with the priory and succeeded that north-east of the castle, serving the new settlement of Kirkeby (see *Y.A.J.* 59, pp. 196-7; *Current Archaeology* 9(1987), pp. 340-44). Two other ditches pre-date the burials; much fourth-century Roman pottery in the grave fillings suggests that the cemetery was superimposed on a much earlier site.

SHARLSTON, SHARLSTON HALL (SE 396188) Ian Roberts and Peter Thornborrow report that following mining subsidence the north wall of the Hall was dismantled and rebuilt. Trial excavations showed that the foundations were composed of reused twelfth/thirteenth-century masonry, possibly robbed from Nostell Priory 2

miles away. A decorated seventeenth-century leather sheath and a well-preserved rat were found within cavities in the structure. A photogrammetric survey prior to dismantling revealed previously unobserved features. The removal of the staircase uncovered a fully framed gable end to the hall range, suggesting that this was once the site of the cross passage and that when the porch was added in 1574 a new hearth passage was created at the former dais end. When the first floor was inserted, an open hearth was replaced by a firehood, itself replaced in the seventeenth century by an elegant stone fireplace.

SOUTHOWRAM, WAKEFIELD GATE (SE 111252-117252) Dark Lane and Barrowclough Lane north of Southowram run in a hollow-way, in places 3m deep and up to 4m wide, part of the main medieval route from Wakefield to Halifax, bypassed by later turnpike roads. Survey by the West Yorkshire Archaeology Service has revealed hut platforms and boundaries to the south of the lane from SE 105253 to SE 109252. These may belong to the deserted medieval hamlet of Barrowclough.

SWILLINGTON, BULLERTHORPE (SE 376303) Fieldwork by members of the West Yorkshire Archaeology Service identified a series of settlement earthworks south of Gamblethorpe Farm. A survey by S. Moorhouse and members of an evening class revealed that the site overlies ridge and furrow and is of at least two phases. The earliest is represented by two or three regularly laid out plots with a common entrance in the western boundary bank. Building terraces against the inside of the bank are of slight profile. The second phase is represented by a long narrow building with a ? central cross passage, probably a barn, set obliquely across the earlier plan. A further platform is attached to its east side. There is a probable yard to the west, terraced into the earlier enclosures, and a new terraced way from the south cuts the earlier boundary bank and overlies ridge and furrow. It is uncertain whether these remains represent Gamblethorpe or, as previously assumed, Bullerthorpe, a name surviving 500m to the north. Both names occur in the thirteenth century.

TICKHILL, TICKHILL CASTLE (SK 594928) Excavation by the South Yorkshire Archaeology Unit for the Duchy of Lancaster on top of the motte exposed the keep wall and showed that early stratigraphy survived here. The south-west quadrant was cleared down to the level of the 1960 excavation by Rotherham Archaeology Society.

WHARRAM, WHARRAM PERCY (SE 858645) The 38th season saw the usual range of multi-period excavations. In Toft 17 one of the outbuildings had rounded external corners to its chalk walls, suggesting that its roof was hipped. In Toft 10 two large pits 2m deep were probably cesspits serving the chamber block to the east. Their contents were extensively sampled, as macroscopic examination suggested the presence of seed remains. In Croft 4 evidence of valley side land use in the Middle Ages began to be revealed. Machine-cut trenches showed that the bottom of Drue Dale, with deep deposits of Oxford Clay, was archaeologically sterile. On Glebe West remains of a well preserved stone building probably represents the 'vicarage and barn under one roof' burnt down in 1547. Traces were seen of underlying thirteenth/fourteenth-century occupation around Low House and work on the farmhouse showed that the eighteenth-century building was not the first on the site.

YORK, COFFEE YARD (SE 602520) The York Archaeological Trust excavated within two standing fourteenth-fifteenth-century timber-framed buildings prior to their restoration. A tile floor belonging to an earlier building was found within the fifteenth-century structure and the dais of a later hall had been inserted within the adjoining fourteenth-century building. They probably formed the prebendal mansion of Bramham Prebend, held by the Prior of Nostell, and may have served as the priory's York hospice. For fuller details see *Interim* 12.2 (1987), pp. 8-15.

YORK, ABC CINEMA, PICCADILLY (SE 605516) In the trial holes excavated by the York Archaeological Trust medieval wicker fences were found dividing the site into tenements extending from Coppergate to the Foss, while other wicker features at right angles to these boundaries and a well-preserved barrel-lined well were also recorded.

POST MEDIEVAL

HALIFAX, NORTHGATE END (SE 094254) The West Yorkshire Archaeology Service exhumed burials found by contractors on the site of the demolished Unitarian chapel. Most of the burials had apparently been reinterred when the chapel was rebuilt in 1870, but some were in their original positions, including one in a lead coffin dated 1846. The trenches contained loose bones and compressed remains of stacked coffins containing skeletons.

KINGSTON ON HULL, THE CITADEL (TA 103274) Excavations by the Archaeology Unit of Humberside County Council Architect's Dept sectioned the defences on the south side. They showed that a well built stone-faced plinth sloping at an angle of 60 degrees was preserved to a depth of 2.64m. Brickwork of the rampart wall

within this was sealed by railway ballast, clay, and nineteenth-century debris. These remains belong to the Citadel, built c. 1680 around Henry VIII's castle and southern blockhouse on the east side of the River Hull and demolished in 1863.

MORLEY, EAST ARDSLEY OLD HALL (SE 305252) During work to convert the hall into three houses a previously inaccessible room to the north of the central hall was found to be a late seventeenth/early eighteenth-century parlour. Fireplaces have been opened up and more panelling uncovered during the work. The interpretation of the building consequently now differs from that in RCHME, *Rural Houses of West Yorkshire 1400-1830* (1986), pp. 58, 196.

PONTEFRACT, BRIDGE STREET (SE 403209) The removal of rendering during restoration of 1 Bridge Street/15 Salter Row revealed remains of a seventeenth-century stone building with a blocked mullioned window. Investigation of the roof space revealed a truss and substantial remains of a firehood.

SKELTON, ORCHARD FIELD (SE 569565) The York Excavation Group has been excavating earthworks 300-400m east of the church for the past three seasons (see *Y.A.J.* 58, p. 203). A slightly constructed building on a platform of clean river sand with remains of charred oak beams and burnt grain may possibly be the village oven. An area of cobbles is overlaid by building debris and much pottery of c. 1600. Finds include clay pipes, a trade token from Wirksworth dated 1645 and an Elizabethan lead weight.

MISCELLANEOUS

LANGSETT, LANGSETT RESERVOIR (SK 20639993) C.R. Hart of Sheffield City Museum reports that he and F. Hepworth located a small stone hearth on the west shore of the reservoir, exposed by a lowering of the water level. The hearth comprises gritstone slabs set on three sides of a square sunken area 0.70m across, its open end facing south-eastwards. Substantial quantities of reduced iron ore slag were noted from north-western end and samples were recovered for the museum's regional collection.

The Wharram Research Project Management Committee

The current programme of English Heritage-funded excavations at Wharram Percy will come to an end in 1990. The Wharram Project will, however, continue its work upon the area after that date, alongside the production of final reports on the excavations in the Guardianship Area. It is intended, for instance, that field survey work of all types will be intensified as the history of the area from the earliest times to the present day is investigated. Selective excavations will be included in the research programme. Furthermore, a great deal of work on the written sources remains to be done.

An organizational framework has been set up to co-ordinate and promote that work, taking over the reins from the Project's founding fathers, M.W. Beresford and J.G. Hurst, who will nevertheless retain a close involvement in the Project. The Wharram Project Management Committee is composed partly of Wharram Percy representatives and partly of ex-officio representatives of bodies including English Heritage, the Department of Archaeology in the University of York, the Centre for Regional and Local History at the University of Hull, The Department of Geography in the University of Birmingham, and local authorities. It is under the chairmanship of Professor Martin Carver, and can be contacted via The Department of Archaeology, Micklegate House, Micklegate, York YO1 1JZ. The Committee's secretary is Dr. Paul Stamper.

BOOK REVIEWS

Anthony Birley, *The People of Roman Britain*, London, B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1988; pp. 224. pls. 16, figs 9. pbk. £10.95.

This is a new edition of the book first published in 1979, approaching the history and society of Roman Britain by studying the individuals known from inscriptions or from literary sources. It is surprising how many names are known and how varied are the sources to be tapped for information. Apart from 2314 inscriptions on stone, mostly from military sites, there are, for instance, 250 makers of pottery, some 60 governors and 30 worshippers of the mysterious Veteres. The names of visitors to Britain or of its inhabitants, though normally of Celtic or Roman origin, can be Greek, German, African, or even Syrian. They may be the Roman *tria nomina* or, rarely, as numerous as the 38 to which Pompeius Falco was entitled. Professor Birley classifies his subjects under such headings as officials and officers, legionaries, merchants, craftsmen, country dwellers, and slaves. They are not confined to Britain itself, but include soldiers of British origin whose tombstones or other memorials occur elsewhere in the empire.

Of the residents of Yorkshire during the Roman period, this work discusses not only well known figures, like the Brigantian queen, Cartimandua, or the emperors, Septimius Severus, of African origin, or Constantius and Constantine, from Illyria, only temporarily in Britain, but also the merchants, Aurelius Lunaris, setting up an altar at Bordeaux, and Viducius Placidus, of Rouen, York and Holland, or the freedman, Caecilius Musicus, perhaps an entertainer. The chapter on the last century of Roman rule mentions, together with such familiar Christian writers as Patrick and Pelagius, more obscure figures, including Augulus, bishop and martyr, Mellonus of Cardiola, and the poet, Silvius Bonus. Patrick reveals his honesty and lack of literary training in his *Confessio*, while Pelagius is described by his opponents as weighed down with Scottish porridge, as massive as a St Bernard dog, as slow as a tortoise.

The careers of centurions, the skills of smiths and potters, the origins of a host of dedicators of altars are discussed, making the names scratched hastily on writing tablets or metalwork, the formal inscriptions on buildings or from cemeteries, reveal as much as possible about the people involved. Thus the author deduces that Elpis, mentioned in a letter found at Vindolanda, was perhaps a female camp follower. The *ala Tampiana* probably took its title from Tampium in Lower Britain, the place where the governor Claudius Paulinus wrote a letter copied as part of a long inscription set up in 238 by the council of the three Gallic provinces.

With such a wealth of information presented in a readable and thought-provoking way, the only criticism to be made is the lack of guidance to help the reader find his way through it. The index of persons states that it is only a selection of the more important and interesting individuals; it has to be supplemented by recourse to the notes to the various chapters. There is no index of places - a serious omission - and no guide to the figures. Scribonius Demetrius, who left Greek inscriptions at York and was apparently known to Plutarch, seems to be excluded. Quintus Corellius Fortis, who lamented his daughter in a touching epitaph, can only be found in the notes to the chapter on the curial class, but even then the chapter has to be read carefully to find the reference (p. 122), not among the decurions of York discussed on p. 119. Stanwick, not Stanwix, is the site of the Brigantian *oppidum* (p. 25). Can Caligula be properly called 'the last Julian emperor'? Both his father, Germanicus, his great-uncle, Tiberius, and his successor were Claudians. But these are trivial blemishes in a valuable and stimulating work.

York

R.M. Butler

D. Brinklow, R. Hall, J.R. Magilton, and S. Donaghey, *Coney Street, Aldwark, and Clementhorpe, Minor Sites and Roman Roads. The Archaeology of York*, 6/1. Council for British Archaeology for York Archaeological Trust 1986. pp. 112, pl. 20 (2 in colour), figs 53 (9 folders). £11.50.

This book contains the results of three major excavations and of a number of minor excavations and watching briefs. It includes work both by the York Archaeological Trust and by the York Excavation Group, as well as a watching brief for the Department of the Environment from 1971 before the establishment of the Trust. It is the first fascicule of a volume to be devoted to the Roman Extra-mural settlement and roads. It includes sites on both sides of the Ouse outside the walls of the legionary fortress and those of the *colonia* or developed settlement on the south-west side of the river. This division is in part that adopted by the R.C.H.M. survey of 1962, but whereas the R.C.H.M. distinguished between the extra-mural (i.e. outside the fortress) settlement north-east of the river and suburban settlement, this arrangement does not. R.C.H.M. *York I* pp. xxxiv-v identified the walled civil settlement south-west of the river as the *colonia* and the extra-mural settlement to the north-east of the river and south of the fortress as the *canabae*. Although separated by the Ouse, these two areas of urban settlement cannot be otherwise distinguished archaeologically, and since the settlement south-west of the river must itself have

originated as part of *canabae*, there seems to be a strong case for treating the civil town on both sides of the Ouse as a single unit. For example, it would have been useful for the warehouses and/or granaries found off Coney Street and published in this fascicule to have been considered in the same volume as that across the river off Rougier Street, which will be published in the second fascicule of Vol. 4.

Both these discoveries, together with those made earlier along the Foss, demonstrate the extent and importance to York of its port. The wealth derived from the trade carried on there is illustrated by the dedication stone found reused in a post-medieval building at Clementhorpe. This was set up in 221 A.D. on an arch and vaulted passage given by Lucius Viducius Placidus, a trader with Britain whose origins were in Rouen, but who is also known from a dedication he set up at the shrine of Nehallenia at the estuary of the Scheldt. His dedication in York is to the spirit of the place and the divinity of the emperors, part therefore of the official public worship of the town, with a suggestion that Viducius was a *sevir Augustalis* of the *colonia*. This stone unfortunately need not derive from the immediate area, and may have been brought from elsewhere in York to the site, which in Roman times was occupied by an important suburban house with mosaic pavement, here reproduced in a reconstruction drawing by D.S. Neal.

Other excavations extend our knowledge of that part of the town north-east of the Ouse and imply close-built settlement along the whole south-eastern face of the fortress and indeed recover part of its street pattern. A fourth-century mosaic in an unusual timber-framed building from outside the east corner of the fortress has been regarded by some as a house church in direct continuity with the medieval church of St Helen on the Walls lying above it. This is shown here to be a theory not founded on any direct evidence.

The final section is devoted to Roman roads approaching York. A number of scattered observations and trenches have added considerably to our knowledge of the road system around the city. If they have not altered its general position, they have given us a sounder knowledge of detailed alignments. The whole of the evidence requires a major reconsideration, not just for the detailed courses of roads near the fortress and town, but with regard to their destinations, but this is beyond the scope of this review. Two points may be noted. Road (4) out of the north-east gate of the fortress as now amended (p. 93) need not have Malton as its destination. The evidence for a direct route to Malton along Stockton Lane is not strong. The last alignment of the new course could be continued to link up with the linear earthwork on the east side of the modern road between Huntington and Strensall, with the road at Brandreth Farm near Ganthorpe (Kitson-Clark, *Gazetteer*, p. 68), and eventually with Wade's Causeway. Braygate Street (*Gazetteer*, pp. 141-2) would provide a link between Malton and this road.

Whilst it is true that in the R.C.H.M. volume Road (1) was based, not only for its course but for its existence, on a straight stretch of parish boundary, its existence was subsequently proved by an excavation (*Y.A.J.* 41 (1966), p. 559). To the south of the parish boundary the road turned south-eastwards towards Wheldrake, where it can be seen as a soil mark south of Sparrow Hall Farm. Its ultimate destination may well be Brough, linking with a road that branches from Margary 2e south of Newbald and runs east towards Hotham.

Although a series of small reports such as this may not amount to much individually, the cumulative effect is impressive, and the authors have skilfully used them to give an impression of the outskirts of York, but unfortunately they cannot tell us much in detail of the development of the Roman town.

York

H.G. Ramm

C. M. Brooks, *Medieval and Later Pottery from Aldwark and Other Sites*, The Archaeology of York, 16/3, 1987. £8.95.

Volume 16 of the *Archaeology of York* is devoted to pottery from various excavated sites in the City. This is the second fascicule of the volume to be published on material of medieval and later date and it is concerned principally with pottery from nos. 1-5 Aldwark, excavated between 1976 and 1977. Much briefer consideration is given to pottery from no 2 Aldwark, excavated between 1978 and 1980, and this is followed by a summary of material from sites 4, 5 and 6 at the other end of the street where recording was not, apparently, of a nature to sustain a full pottery report. Finally there are short descriptions of pottery found during watching briefs and small-scale excavation in the Shambles and Parliament Street during the same period. Maps give the position of all the sites.

The format, standard for the series, makes for a book easy to handle and pleasant to read, durable for a paperback, and well illustrated with plans and drawings of high quality. Unlike its predecessor of 1978 it includes a table of contents, an improvement which it would be worth expanding in subsequent volumes, for, in the absence of an index, it is still difficult to find quickly anything that is wanted. A bibliography covers most reports on pottery excavated within the county.

As a preliminary to the report on site I (1-5 Aldwark) the author explains the methods of processing and presentation adopted, and addresses herself particularly to the problems of residual pottery and of intrusive pottery, the former serious on this, as on most urban sites, as the 55% of Roman pottery present in the eleventh-century phase of site I demonstrates. Quantification of the pottery was based on a simple sherd count, for weighing was found to produce much the same results and the fragmentary nature of the finds precluded the possibility of a minimum vessel count. Unfortunately no total of sherds for this or any other of the excavated sites is given, so that it would be difficult to compare the volume of material from any of these York excavations with, for example, that

from a similar area in the village of Wharram Percy or from a couple of cells in the monastery of Mount Grace.

Following the generalities that concern the treatment of all the pottery, the pattern is set for the individual reports. First there is a summary of the excavation results, together with a general site plan, the essential minimum necessary when, as here, finds are disassociated from the excavation that produced them, not an ideal situation, but inevitable once the general format for the York series was determined. There follows a description of all fabrics found in the course of excavation, each ascribed to its probable kiln source wherever possible. The relative quantities of each is then presented in the form of seriographs for the various phases. It would have been kinder to the reader, and eliminated a good deal of thumbing through pages, had the estimated date range of the archaeological phases been given on each seriograph instead of on a single example, but this is a minor irritation. The fabric descriptions are followed by the description and illustration of a selection of the pottery from each site, without indication of how the selection has been made, particularly unfortunate in the case of the later reports, which are underillustrated.

The emphasis throughout the fascicule is on fabric differentiation and quantification. These are important matters; they might indeed be described as the bones of pottery study, but they need to be clad with rather more flesh in the way of qualitative information of the vessels found than appears in this volume. The author has not interested herself in the distribution of the pottery round the various sites, or in the information that this may have had to offer on site interpretation - a casualty perhaps of the fascicule method of publication - nor has she concerned herself with the nature of the vessels of which her sherds formed a part. But it is just this sort of information that those now working in the field are looking for in the material they handle, for in favourable circumstances pottery can show the purpose for which a building was used, and even the function of the rooms within it as well as a wide range of social custom and economic activity.

It can show, too, as Verhaeghe's brilliant contribution demonstrates, such variations in trading patterns as that between Hull and the Low Countries in the fourteenth century and between the Low Countries and the comparatively prosperous burghers of York in the fifteenth. Miss Brooks has discussed the provenance of fabrics popular in the City at various periods, including those such as Scarborough ware, which were scarce, but she has omitted Staxton Ware, ubiquitous further east in the county, because it is not, it appears, found at all within York. Its absence has increased her difficulties with the material, for the potters along the south side of the Vale of Pickering who were using the clay that produced it, were making almost exclusively cooking pots and bowls, a circumstance that allows a quick check on the relationship of kitchen wares to jugs. Such information not only tells something of the use of any given site, but also gives information about its economic status, and eventually about the economic development of the region. Earthenware cooking pots for use on an open fire had long been superseded by metal in the south, but not at the village of Wharram Percy. Where, between the two extremes, did the northern capital lie? One site could not answer such a question, but a number surely could. In the absence of positive information it is not clear whether such pots were entirely absent at No. 2 Aldwark, occupied from as early as the thirteenth century, nor whether their use really declined steeply at the end of that century at Site 1. There is no sign of curfews anywhere, though they are occasional at Wharram, and there is only one chafing dish mentioned, so that one is left in doubt as to whether they were less common in an urban context than, for example, at Mount Grace, where there were a number in quite a small area, but where their presence might possibly be due to the necessity of carrying hot food all round the cloister.

Attention has, however, been given to the industrial use of pottery. An important small group of bowls from the Shambles, much thicker in the wall than the general run of such vessels, clearly had some function in the process of glass-making. Elsewhere pots, including a jug, contained a residue identified as urine, a substance frequently stored for use in a wide range of medieval industrial processes. This sort of detail, together with the information given on both internal and external trade in pottery, enliven a volume rather over devoted to the careful description of fabrics, many already familiar, and their distribution in the various periods covered between the eleventh and the eighteenth centuries. It is a good sound volume that has failed to move with the times.

Leeds

H.E. Jean Le Patourel

A. Brown, *Fieldwork for Archaeologists and Local Historians*, Batsford, London. 1987. 160 pp. 76 illustrations. £19.95 (hardback); £12.95 (p.b.).

Fieldwork is a skill developed with practice and improved by constantly widening one's experience. Text books such as this one can only help the process by enlarging the reader's horizons and by showing the variety of approaches available to the committed fieldworker. The main branches of the subject are considered: observation in the field, ground survey and the collection of ploughsoil material. The development of an eye for the terrain is encouraged together with a sensitivity for how earlier man chose his habitation sites and protected his fields. Yet however well the observer performs in the field and however astute his interpretations, he also needs the dedication to follow up his work through maps and documents. Separate chapters examine selected examples of every type of work and source, drawn mainly from midland England.

This regional concentration is both a strength and a weakness of the book. Its main strength is the sound footing from which the book is written, using a wide choice of appropriate examples. Similarly the plans and diagrams

range in scale and complexity from the simple windmill mound at Naseby to the complex leper hospital site at Burton Lazars. On the negative side is the heavy reliance upon sites on the midland clays where earthworks are obvious, supplemented by a few examples drawn from the Royal Commission's work in Herefordshire and Dorset. Whenever the author moves into upland areas to seek examples, as in the Derbyshire Peak, on Dartmoor and on the Yorkshire Dyke systems surveyed by Dr. Spratt, there seems to be a deliberate effort to mention less favoured areas in an attempt to redress the balance. Wales merits one illustration and a few examples are cited; Scotland is virtually ignored despite its wealth of field monuments.

The work is firmly set in midland or lowland England. It is also strongly two-dimensional. Although advice is given on the use of an Abney level, any more detailed equipment is regarded as expensive and cumbersome, though its accuracy is recognised. In consequence only three drawings include profiles and relatively few plans show contours. Indeed one plan is included to show the unsuitability of contours for the decipherment of a hill-slope enclosure, when both portrayals (by contour and by hachure) are complementary. The plan of Rockingham parish would have benefitted from contours to show how the village and the deer park are related to the steep encampment south of the Welland basin.

Another drawback which the author or his publishers should have identified is the printing of a detailed discussion in the text, such as Harrington fishponds or Cefnllys castle, on the reverse page from the plan or photograph; reference between text and illustration is far easier when facing pages of a double spread are used. Maybe this is a counsel of perfection when 69 plans are included. Certainly there is plenty of stimulating material. The full and up-to-date bibliography and the convenient check-list of field monuments (similar to but wider than that in Taylor's 1974 predecessor volume) all help to make this a useful guide for those students who have already embarked upon the fieldwork trail in ploughland and in record office.

Leeds

Lawrence Butler

Martin Carver, *Underneath English Towns - interpreting urban archaeology*, Batsford, London, 1987, 160pp, 97 illustrations; £12.95.

Urban archaeology has been a major growth industry in Britain in the last twenty years. Millions of pounds have been spent, principally in major cities such as York, London, Winchester and Lincoln, with small towns getting much less attention. In 1973, the CBA's *Erosion of History* highlighted the enormous threat posed by the redevelopment of our cities; much had by then been destroyed, and much more has since gone without record. A lot has been saved and recorded, however, and our understanding of urbanism in Britain from the Roman period to the Middle Ages is now much better understood. Carver's book is quite the best introduction to what this new understanding has involved, and provides an outline of the conceptual and methodological advances which have made it possible. The book is stimulating, imaginative, challenging and amusing, yet provides solid data useful for students of towns and archaeology.

The framework is principally chronological: ideal and reality in the urbanism of Rome; 'dark earth and Dark Ages' (referring to the mysterious dark soil that in many places separates Roman from medieval levels); the rebirth to towns in the late Saxon period and their major development in medieval times. But there is also a provocative chapter on what makes towns work, and (for those who believe that archaeology is about people) a discourse on 'private lives' - the dirt, the diet and the dead. There is finally something on the politics of resource funding and method.

The style, vocabulary and imagery is arresting. Carver opens with an image of the bewildered visitor to an urban excavation 'a scene is about of irredeemable dereliction' ... 'little white labels' ... 'a tableau of both sexes who dress as though rounded up from a refugee camp' ... 'a variety of curious attitudes, many kneeling with bowed heads scraping the ground like chickens' ... 'an avant-grade street theatre?' Such may be the preceptions of the visiting public whom this book tries to enlighten, a scene full of historical significance. The visitor does not see what (s)he expects - 'a scene of romantic ruins redolent of lost civilisations, but ... a giant Black Forest gateau on which someone has been practising with a pogo-stick'. Such vivid writing in text is matched by a series of informative drawings, showing the real character of urban deposits in skilful 3-dimensional dissections.

Another novel feature is the archaeological equivalent of Michelin Guides to Roman and medieval towns, the attributes which each has had in the past, most of which have been revealed by archaeology. In the Roman Michelin especially this shows in a graphic form the remarkable achievements in bringing *Romanitas* to our benighted island.

'Dark earth and Dark Ages' takes us into the decay of all this, in a fine essay on the processes observed in 'the most devastating social upheaval that the inhabitants of Britain have experienced in the last 2000 years' - flooding, military aggression, religious trouble, plague: Carver considers these explanations but adds another - the collapse of public mood and morale - 'people no longer trust each other'.

In the new society of the seventh century, St Cuthbert was still able to admire the Roman fountain of Carlisle; the new mode of living was 'based on the drinking hall and the loyal gang, adventurous deeds...imaginary genealogies', 'who you knew...was more important than the ability to make mortar'.

'To those that love the natural world, and find a comfort in its beauty and violence that is almost religious, the Dark Ages exercise a dangerous fascination'. So Carver with some relief leads us on to *burhs* and *ports* and gives us

another Michelin Guide to their defences, streets, kilns, churches, mortar mixers, watermills, waterfronts and drains.

The rebirth of the English town has been a major topic of research in the last twenty years. Was the new infant always recognizable as a town? 'The tenth century traveller in Anglo-Saxon England would have to keep an open mind when directed to one. It is also likely that the inhabitants would have been surprised to see him: the English town was born, mature, and working, but perhaps not yet ready for tourists' - a nostalgic thought for those of us who do battle in tourist-infested York today.

The chapter on the medieval town emphasizes the return to a Roman look with real town walls, and a 'crowded skyline'. Here we are into the full detail of archaeology and history - a vivid and relatively familiar picture. That on the 'Urban Motor' is nothing to do with the catastrophic effect of cars on our urban environment, but a thoughtful examination of urban process - why were the towns where they were? Who or what made them work? What were coins for, how much were towns the very hub of English industrial production and the lubricant for rural marketing and foreign contact?

Carver is a humanist and not surprisingly he devotes a whole section to 'Private Lives'. To him the urban dead are not anonymous; though they might prefer to be, 'without being disinterred and slandered in the name of science'. But the dead, their memorials, and their documents do tell us about particular people rather than demographic statistics - the young man in Ipswich who fell through the ice and was buried in his skates; the man buried with his dog at Ilchester; Richard of Southampton who abandoned an amazing menagerie in a latrine pit at Southampton. Urban cemeteries have revealed a wide range of Christian burial practice, even if they have few gravegoods. A hundred households produced each year 36 tons of faeces, 182,500 litres of urine, and 80 tons of food waste. Hence Coppergate! Did they mind living among all this?

The chapter on urban archaeologists in action (history of urban digging, funding, politics) discusses the problems of working in a town for the urban digger (refreshingly always 'she' here!) where sites can be deep and anything from a loose tile to a jettisoned take-away can land on her; how well are we coping with urban redevelopment; how do we persuade developers and the public and central government that it's all worth it? This should really have been a separate book, as also should be the final chapter on method, which is too difficult for the reader who will have enjoyed the earlier chapters; this reviewer, who had done some urban digging, couldn't understand some of the diagrams.

I have concentrated on the entertaining, lively and original quality of this book by quoting racy bits, but it is also very meaty in detail and very well documented; especially useful to student and academic is the massive bibliographical gazetteer, which indicates not only the explosion of urban archaeology in our towns since the war, but the range of Carver's own synthesis.

Production, by Batsford, is not elegant, though misprints are few. Figures are fine when they have been especially drawn - others reproduced from elsewhere are sometimes over-reduced or otherwise obscure. But these are minor drawbacks to an excellent book in which Carver, who has himself made substantial contributions to the urban understanding of Durham, Shrewsbury, Stafford, Lichfield and Worcester (not to mention his work on French towns) now shows his powers as a synthesiser and a writer.

Philip Rahtz

Janet Douglas, Chris Hammond and Ken Powell, *Leeds: Three Suburban Walks*, Leeds, The Victorian Society, 1978; pp. 32, figs 17. £1.50

The three walks of the title are from Leeds City Station to Holbeck, through Headingley from St Michael's Church to St Chad's, and around Roundhay from the Art Deco style Oakwood Fish Bar into the park and back by Roundhay High School. All three perambulations are illustrated by maps and pictures of some of the features mentioned. Although Victorian buildings are naturally the main concern, including the office block at Temple Mills which imitates the Egyptian temple of Horus at Edfu, as well as churches, chapels and cottages, some structures as recent as flats of the 1960s are included. Whether the reader is a resident of Headingley wanting to know the history of the Cottage Cinema, or a traveller by train puzzled to see two medieval Italian towers near the line, this booklet is full of helpful information, clearly laid out and attractively illustrated.

D.H. Heslop, *The Excavation of an Iron Age Settlement at THORPE THEWLES, Cleveland, 1980-1982*. Council for British Archaeology Research Report 65. London 1987. 124 pp., 64 figs., 11 Plates., 6 Microfiche. £18.50

The excavation of an Iron Age site at Thorpe Thewles was undertaken by the Cleveland County Archaeology Section in 1980-82. The site had long been under arable cultivation and appeared as a cropmark square enclosure with a circular central feature crowning a low hill. The excavation revealed a complex of ditches and house ring slots from occupation over a period of centuries. Thorpe Thewles lies 3klms. north of Stockton-on-Tees on the glacial tills that flank the northern side of the Tees Estuary. The earthworks of bank and ditched homestead enclosure sites of postulated Early Iron Age date survive on upland moorlands free from more recent cultivation. But the advent of airphotography has demonstrated the existence of such sites in the agriculturally richer lowlands.

The excavated area at Thorpe Thewles straddled the southern two thirds of the enclosure, regrettably its

gateway had to be left out-side the area investigated. The earliest phase was a single ditch, possibly a field boundary showing the sub-rectangular ditched enclosure of Phase II was laid out in an already utilised landscape. The Phase II enclosure had a central circular house flanked by smaller circular structures all defined by drainage ditches. The large central house, rebuilt twice, was defined by variations in the wall slot with door postholes and inner posthole ring for the roof supports. The entrance was further defined by pitching and hearth and hollows were features of the interior. The enclosure ditch had passed out of use towards the end of Phase II when small sub-rectangular enclosures were constructed over its course. Phase III saw a major re-planning with an expansion in the size of the settlement over the hilltop. House sites were defined by semi-circular drainage ditches with postholes, and the area partitioned by boundary ditches, the clay subsoil necessitating recutting to maintain their function. The site was finally abandoned and the area was divided up by the Phase IV field ditches.

The ditches and post holes provided a good series of hand made pottery for Phases II, III and IV from which thermoluminescent dates were obtained. This technique provides the principal means of dating the occupation linked to the Romano-British pottery present in features of Phases III and IV. For Phase II the TL dates are centred around 500 B.C. which would point to a lengthy occupation before Phase III replanning. In the late 1st Century A.D. Phase III is considered to Pre-Flavian or early Flavian in date with the following Phase IV associated with pottery of the 2nd century A.D.

Thorpe Thewles provides an insight into a peasant farming settlement, established late in the 1st Millennium B.C., of single family size using the central house. The economy was mixed farming and a change in emphasis is indicated between Phases II and III, both in the agricultural basis, trade links and in the social status of the inhabitants. The significance of the Thorpe Thewles settlement in terms of its structural, economic and chronological evidence to sites in the adjacent regions of Yorkshire and Durham are discussed in the report.

The authors are to be congratulated on their rapid production of this report, appearing in print 5 years after the excavation. There are a few minor editorial blemishes and the work is cleanly printed with crisp line illustrations, but why are the plans only scaled in metres? The photographic illustrations in contrast are of disappointing quality, printed very matt. The full extent of the enclosure known from cropmark evidence, in relation to the excavated features, only appears on the small scale site location plan Fig 3. It would have been helpful to the understanding of the Phase II settlement to have the continuation of the enclosure indicated on the detailed excavation plan Fig. 5. and on the site plans that are an un-numbered folding sheet at the back of the report. The artist's reconstructions of Phase II and III at Thorpe Thewles on the report's cover will be symbolic to most readers of the ultimate product of this excavation. That is a skilful investigation, a detailed study of the evidence, an objective interpretation and well considered presentation of the results.

Doncaster Museum & Art Gallery

T.G. Manby

J.C. Holt, *John Le Patourel 1909-1981*, London, The British Academy, 1986; pp. 14, pl. 1. £1.50.

This appreciation of the life and work of the Society's former President, Professor of Medieval History at Leeds from 1945 to 1970, will interest both those who knew him and those who did not. The influence of his Guernsey background is made plain: Normandy and the Normans were consequently one of his major interests and when he died, the day after working in the Brotherton Library, he left in outline an intended book on the Angevin Empire.

Rosemary Horrox (ed), *Selected Rentals and Accounts of Medieval Hull, 1293-1528*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series CXLI, 1983 for 1981; pp. vii 198. £18.00.

Wendy R. Childs (ed), *The Customs Accounts of Hull 1453-1490*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series CXLIV, 1986 for 1984; pp. xxxii 284. £20.00.

Kingston-upon-Hull was a more important town in the middle ages than can easily be appreciated today, after the expansion and redevelopment of the last three centuries have conspired to destroy so much of the evidence. Founded as Wyke-upon-Hull in the late twelfth century, it was already the third or fourth port in England by the 1280s, at least in terms of wool exports. In the 1290s Edward I bought it, enlarged it, and turned it into the free borough of Kingston. W.G. Hoskins' rankings of provincial towns place it 26th in 1334, 24th in 1377 and 21st in the 1520s, by which time it had overtaken its rival Beverley. Yet its medieval history was somewhat neglected until the appearance of the *Victoria County History* volume in 1969, and it is a sign of belated justice that the editors of the Society's Record Series should have commissioned not one but two volumes of Hull records.

Rosemary Horrox has contributed much to our understanding of the town's topography, firstly with *The Changing Plan of Hull 1290-1650* (1978) and now with the volume under review. *Selected Rentals and Accounts* includes full texts or abstracts of fourteen documents ranging from the eve of Edward I's acquisition of the town to the middle of Henry VIII's reign, most of them inquisitions, rentals and account rolls. The earliest is a valuation of the properties in the town on 3 January 1293, and the most valuable the fee farm rental of 1347, which appears to list almost all properties in Hull with measurements of their frontages and details of adjacent properties. Although Dr Horrox shows that it 'seriously underestimates the number of houses, and hence must be used with extreme caution', its detailed measurements do help to make the other sources yield much information. In short, the topography of the medieval town can be understood in enviable detail, and my one regret is that the texts are accompanied only by a schematised street plan. The editor's plan of house plots c 1350 in *The Changing Plan of Hull*

does more justice to the information she has been able to compile.

Wendy Childs, in contrast, concentrates on a short period and on the town's economy. Something of the fluctuations of Hull's overseas trade has long been known from J.N. Bartlett's work on the enrolled customs accounts (summarised in *The Economic History Review* for 1959-60), but Dr Childs shows how much more can be learned from the particular customs accounts, which furnish details of merchants, shipping, the direction of trade and the nature of the goods. Although they have not survived as fully as the enrolled accounts, there are for three periods enough to allow an analysis of the trading pattern and its fluctuations. One such group survives from 1453-1490, offering 'the double advantage of surveying all merchants and goods while surviving in reasonable numbers and in good repair'. For this period Dr Childs is able to print full or partial transcripts, of in some cases summaries, of twenty-eight accounts, either those made by the two local collectors or those made by the royal controller. Some cover Scarborough as well as Hull, while one includes Grimsby also. This meticulous edition is rounded off by tables of total trade, glossaries, and informative indexes.

Both volumes are rich in information not possible to summarise here. Dr Childs laudably prints her accounts in the original Latin, though with omission of some inessential words which allows for a clear format in columns. Her glossaries translate those terms given in Latin, and in any case many of the goods were described by the collectors in English. Dr Horrox translates all her Latin documents, but leaves in medieval English the rentals of 1465 and 1527-8. Both volumes are models of scholarship, which complement one another well, and which should serve to put Hull firmly in the forefront of future surveys of medieval towns.

University of Hull

D.M. Palliser

W.J. Sheils, *Restoration Exhibit Books and the Northern Clergy 1662-1664*, Borthwick Texts and Calendars: Records of the Northern Province 12, York, The Borthwick Institute, 1987; pp. xviii 104. £5 40p p. and p.

Accepted Frewen, the first Archbishop of York after the Commonwealth, required his clergy to produce their titles and licences. The results, contained in Exhibit Books, provide brief statements of the career of the northern clergy. The books transcribed cover Cheshire, Cumberland, Lancashire, Westmorland, and the East and North Ridings of Yorkshire. The material in them is supplemented from other sources, such as Venn and Calamy to supply details of the education and future fate of some of the clergy. Parish clerks, schoolmasters and some others were also investigated at this time. A short introduction explains the value to historians of these records.

Robert Unwin, *Wetherby: the History of Yorkshire Market Town*, Wetherby Historical Trust and Leeds University Press, 1986; pp. xi 251. £8.50 pb.

Wetherby has recently had the good fortune to be the object of much local pride, interest, and endeavour, all eventually harnessed by a historical trust. This local enterprise has now borne fruit in a full study of the town. Dr Unwin is an historian and educationist at Leeds University, who has already written on several aspects of local history and archives. His experience and expertise have enabled him to produce a splendid and well-illustrated town history, to be read not only by local people but by everyone interested in Yorkshire's history at large.

The author adopts a no-nonsense approach, begins at the beginning, and covers the ground clearly and interestingly. He tells us just enough about the early settlements and Domesday Wetherby before establishing the Percy and Templars' connection with the district and introducing the crucially important grant of a chartered market in 1240.

Wetherby's role as a market town was thereafter assisted by its possession of a river crossing and its location on the main north-south route. There were fluctuations in the fortunes of the little market town, of course, changes of landlordship, local rivalries, and involvement in political quarrels.

By the later seventeenth century, Wetherby, its market and inns were the subject of favourable comment by travellers and diarists, though it was still a small town. Agricultural changes, the expansion of carrying services, horse-breeding, the market and the fairs all enhanced the town's fortunes; by 1776 more than 900 people lived there, working in a considerable variety of occupations.

Variety supplies the key both to Wetherby's past and the contents of Dr Unwin's crisp account. In Georgian Wetherby there were inns, schools, chapels and races. The town's association with great aristocratic landlords ended with the 'great sale of 1824' by the Devonshires (the local impact of which is carefully described). Thereafter, railway connections, workhouses, local politics and recreations crowd the pages. So too do the problems of 'growth': housing, sanitation, water supply, health.

Unlike many general histories, however, this one does not peter out with the early twentieth century. Instead it ends with two chapters on the development of the modern town since the Thirties: war, traffic congestion, by-pass, trading estate, suburbs, commuters, local government reform. A satisfying ending to a long story, therefore, rounds off a coherent account - and one that is a bargain at the price.

University of Leeds

G. C. F. Forster

C.C. Webb, *A Guide to Parish Records in the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research*; York, Borthwick Texts and Calendars: Records of the Northern Province 12, 1987. pp. xx + 162. £7.50 + 55p p. & p.

The parish records of the modern diocese of York, though it is much smaller in extent than the medieval diocese, are still divided between four record offices. Those of the archdeaconry of York are in the Borthwick Institute and this catalogue deals with the archives of 206 parishes held there. These are classified under the headings of registers, benefice income, charity, churchwardens, constables, incumbent, overseers of the poor, parish rooms and societies, school, surveyors, vestry and parochial church council. Some of these records survive from a surprisingly early date: for instance, there are account rolls for St. Margaret's, York, of 1394 and a record of masons' wages for St Martin's, Coney Street, of 1447-9. Five registers commence in 1538, including those of Skelton, ordered at a visitation by the Abbot of St. Mary's. Unusual items include cavalry and navy accounts of 1797 for Londesborough, diaries of two Lancashire vicars at Sheriff Hutton, lists of papists received into the Church of England, and four graveyard plans. The most voluminous records listed seem to be those of Selby Abbey, with the papers from St. Michael le Belfrey, York, in second place. Appendices list glebe terriers, tithe awards and the starting dates of parish registers.

This valuable guide makes clear the variety of information contained in this mass of material, ranging from church building accounts to photographs of schoolchildren and minutes of garden fete committees. The author points out that 'it has not been possible to examine every record for hidden gems, so it is inevitable that amongst the standard descriptions there will lurk some hidden treasure'. Local historians will find this a most useful guide and be thankful to Mr. Webb for compiling it. To produce the clear and simple entries there has inevitably been a great deal of work sorting through dusty, crumbling and varied rolls, books and papers, often hard to read and requiring expertise to classify.

Eileen White, *The St Christopher and St George Guild of York*, Borthwick Papers 72, York, The Borthwick Institute, 1987; pp. 28. £1.80 20p p. & p.

Two separate religious guilds, one dedicated to St Christopher, the other to St George, were founded by York citizens in about 1390 and had united by 1466. St Christopher's Guild co-operated with the city authorities to build the fine Guildhall off Coney Street in 1445-60 and had a chapel near it on the site now occupied by the Mansion House. St George's Guild was based on the former Templar chapel near the castle. The guilds' history, organisation, officers, possessions, feasts, plays, prestige, final poverty and dissolution in 1549 are recounted. In the absence of the guilds' own records, their story has to be told from references in the city or national archives, from the wills of members and the evidence of their one surviving building. Only occasionally do the scattered records recall the striped purple-red gowns worn by the guildsmen, the statues of their patron saints and the dragon carried in processions, or their masters' insistence on taking precedence on civic occasions before lawyers of the church courts. Eileen White's pamphlet throws interesting light on an aspect of guild life in late medieval York, usually overshadowed by the better known records of the craft guilds.

Chris Wrigley, *Cosy-Co-operation under Strain. Industrial Relations in the Yorkshire Woollen Industry 1919-1930*, Borthwick Papers No. 71: York, the Borthwick Institute, 1987: pp. 34. £1.80 20p p. & p.

This booklet examines the work of the Joint Industrial Committee of the Yorkshire textile industry and its collapse as the result of bitter disputes after eleven years of 'cosy co-operation'. In 1925 the employers demanded a 10 percent cut in wages and the unions a 5 percent rise. In spite of a lock-out, the employers were forced to continue paying the old rates. In 1930 the six unions involved were divided and industry-wide collective bargaining was abandoned. Historians of industrial relations and trade unionism should find the contents of interest.

All communications relative to the Editorial side of the **Journal** should be addressed to the Hon. Editor, R.M. BUTLER, M.A., PH.D., F.S.A., Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, The White House, Clifton, York, from whom lists of conventions should be obtained by intending contributors.

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